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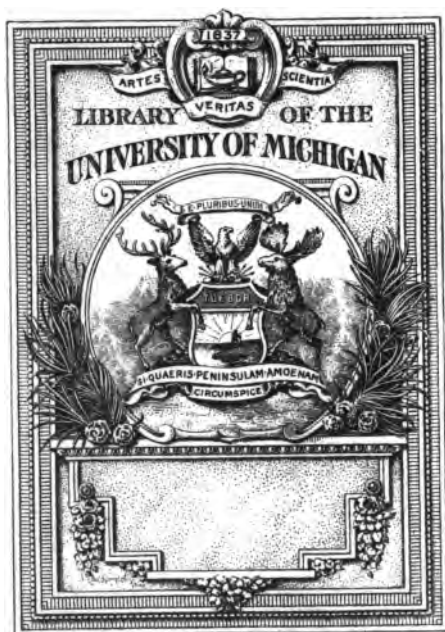
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SOCIALISM

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FROM

GENESIS TO REVELATION

BY

REV. F. M. SPRAGUE

BOSTON

LEE AND SHEPARD PUBLISHERS

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1893

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SOCIALISM FROM GENESIS TO REVELATION.

S. J. PARKHILL & CO., PRINTERS
BOSTON

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

TO THE

Laboring Classes

AND TO

**THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF INDUSTRIAL
DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL
JUSTICE.**

9 Rev. a. 5-29-28 M.V.P.

P R E F A C E

THIS work was begun as an investigation, continued as a study, and completed as a conviction. That conviction is that some form of Christian Socialism affords the only basis of peace between the hostile forces of society.

For years we have watched the conflict between labor and capital, regarding it only as a temporary derangement of industrialism, involving no moral issue, and sure to adjust itself in due time. As the conflict continued, widening in extent, and deepening in intensity, it touched every interest of society including that of religion. The author, as a Christian minister, naturally asked himself, what relation, if any, the social question sustained to the phenomenal irreligion of the multitudes ?

Fortunately at this time (1885) The Connecticut Valley Economic Association was organized in Springfield, Mass., of which we became a member. It was a remarkable circumstance that this association included in its membership such political economists and sociologists as Professor J. B. Clark of Smith College, Professor F. H. Giddings of Bryn Mawr College, Professor Edward W. Bemis of Vanderbilt University, Professor C. S. Walker of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and Dr. G. M. Steele of Wesleyan Academy. To these gentlemen the author, however diverse his views, is deeply indebted for a fresh and sustained interest in a now supremely important subject.

We soon became satisfied that the question that vexed political economy, set labor and capital at war, and threat-

ened all social institutions was primarily a moral one. In other words, the social question is one within the jurisdiction of Christian ethics. Throughout these pages this question is viewed from an ethical standpoint.

Socialism is a new science of political economy. Its object is to realize the ethics of the religion of Jesus Christ in the possession of economic goods. The capitalistic system, by its gross inequality in the distribution of wealth, has come to be the arch enemy of this ethical principle. Socialism is an evolution. It is related to capitalism as the butterfly to the chrysalis, as Christianity to Judaism, or as democracy to monarchy. Both Judaism and monarchy have done good service, but they have had their day. The same is true of capitalism as an economy. Society will no longer tolerate its old dogmas respecting private property, freedom of contract, and free competition; its conception of the State as a mere political institution, of labor as a mere commodity, its necessary conclusion that money is of more consequence than men, that might makes right, that men being unequal should take the consequences of their inequality, that some may justly live in idleness and luxury while others toil and starve, that the social grist of vice, crime, want, and misery, ground out by the operation of the economic laws of capitalism, is necessary and natural, and that the only way for the individual to save himself is to thicken his competitive armor and secure a new advantage over his weaker brother. These dogmas, while they prepared the way for a better order, have at length become so offensive to the prevailing sense of right as to be no longer tolerable.

Socialism is a newer and truer economy. We have chosen this term to express the new social movement, because of its generic character. Socialism, like Christianity, admits of variety in form and expression, while it sufficiently differentiates itself from other systems. The integrity of Christianity is not impaired by its various forms. The same is true of Socialism. As all forms of Christianity call for one essential, a Christianized life, so all forms of Socialism have one essential, the socialization of industry.

We are aware of the prejudice against the word, but we confidently believe this will disappear. We warn the reader against the popular delusions that Socialism would divide the property of the rich equally among the people, that it would deprive individuals of all personal property, that it claims that laborers are absolutely no better off than formerly, that it sanctions the social outrage of confiscation, and that it secretly, if not openly, sympathizes with methods of violence.

It will be seen in the following pages that these are gross misrepresentations employed by capitalistic writers to discredit Socialism in the eyes of the people.

Socialism is often summarily dismissed with the remark "That the time is not ripe for it." Socialists have no idea of harvesting a crop before it is ripe. They do contend, however, that the unripeness of a crop is no reason for not cultivating it. Socialism being the product of the social evolution, the only danger lies in obstructing it. Evolution is a normal development, a growth; revolution is a creation. To obstruct evolution is to invite revolution.

The view that the industrial evolution having passed through the successive stages of slavery and feudalism is now completed and permanently crystallized in capitalism, while the sense of industrial injustice was never so keen and universal, is as unhistorical as it is unphilosophical. No industrial organization is ultimate and permanent that is discordant with recognized and universal principles of truth and right. It is with these great principles and their application to industrial society that we are concerned in this work. Our insistence is, that these principles shall be both recognized and regnant in the organization of industry, from which they have heretofore been excluded; that "The Golden Rule shall be the rule for gold." That this involves great and radical changes we concede.

By these principles, the assumptions and methods of the existing order separately and collectively have been tested and condemned; by these principles, the claims of Socialism have been tested and approved as in accordance with reason, religion, and nature. We have given no private

interpretation to these regal principles, indulged in no speculations, advanced no theories, ridden no hobbies, demanded no application which is not simple, natural, and necessary to their integrity and supremacy. Upon these principles Socialism confidently and serenely rests her claims.

The controversial character of certain portions of the work was unavoidable. The opponents of Socialism are entitled to have their arguments either admitted or shown to be fallacious. As we could not admit them we have accepted the latter alternative, and this the more readily because no great principle in science, politics, or religion was ever established without controversy. Let there be perfect courtesy, candor, and conscientiousness in the discussion, and truth will be triumphant. We simulate no virtue in saying that we prefer truth to our own opinion. If in these pages we have penned a single sentence which in letter, spirit, or tendency is not approved by the highest Christian ethics, we shall rejoice to discover it, and be swift to withdraw it.

Socialism in the United States is making rapid progress, and is to-day the most important subject before the American people. This book is the first and only one that presents the claims of Socialism from a thoroughly democratic and American standpoint. Gronlund's "Coöperative Commonwealth" is a concise and vigorous presentation of the subject from the German standpoint.

We feel justified in claiming a fair degree of thoroughness and completeness in the treatment of the subject. The reader will find every important phase of Socialism considered. Its many practical advantages have been set forth, and popular objections have been carefully examined and, as we think, fairly answered.

Whatever be our manner of treatment, the importance of the subject will be admitted by all. The social question not only "will not down," but is assuming proportions that in the near future threaten revolution. It is no longer a "theory" that confronts society, but a "situation." It is of the utmost importance that the coming revolution should

be peaceful and gradual. With the hope of insuring this result, and with the earnest desire to promote peace and good will by laying again the foundations of social justice in accordance with the precepts of the Son of God, these pages have been written.

F. M. SPRAGUE.

SPRINGFIELD, October, 1892.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS OF SOCIALISM

	PAGE
I. DEFINITION AND ESSENTIAL NATURE. Ethical Basis. — Two Permanent Factors. — Distinguished from Individualism. — Historical Systems of Industry. — Capitalism. — Communism. — Nihilism. — Anarchism. — Essence of Socialism .	1-4
II. THE FIVE FINGERS OF THE SOCIALISTIC HAND. The Economic. — The Social. — The Moral. — The Political. — The Religious. — Eight Points of Resemblance to Christianity. — Relation to Republican Government. — Marriage and the Family. — Inflammatory Utterances not Representative. — Working and Upper Classes Embracing Socialism,	4-10

CHAPTER II

CAUSES THAT HAVE PRODUCED SOCIALISM

I. THE INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY. Its Capacity. — Cause of Suffering. — Punishment of Machine-breakers. — Machinery a Disappointment to Laborers	11-14
II. THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL. Steam and the Great Plant. — Ruin of Small Industries. — Hardship of Laborers. — Movement of Population	14-15
III. DIVISION AND CONSEQUENT DEGRADATION OF LABOR. Function of the Laborer lowered. — Labor Monotonous. — Production cheapened at the Expense of the Laborer's Manhood	15-17

	PAGE
IV. THE SEPARATION OF INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.	
Assumption of Superiority by Employers. — Segregation of Wage-workers. — Envy and Hatred toward Employers. — Large Salaries. — Caste and Inequality	17-20
V. COMPETITION.	
Nature. — Labor a Commodity. — Manchester School. — <i>Laissez-faire</i> . — Failure of the Economic Harmonies. — Competition Unethical. — False Assumptions. — Cause of Inequality. — Prediction of Pitt. — Oppression of Labor. — Socialism the Remedy,	20-26
VI. MONOPOLY.	
Precludes Competition. — Oppresses Labor. — Tendency toward Monopoly. — Natural and Artificial. — Industrial Tyranny	27-29
VII. OVER-PRODUCTION.	
Anarchy of Private Enterprise. — Disastrous Effects. — No Remedy under Capitalism	29-31
VIII. COMMERCIAL CRISES.	
Periodical Occurrence. — Causes. — Theory of Rodbertus. — Inherent in Capitalism. — Feverish Pulse of Capitalism	31-33
IX. PAUPERISM.	
Increases with Civilization. — Product of Capitalism. — Industry. — Enforced Idleness. — Statistics. — Menace to the Republic. — Cardinal Manning on the Right to Steal. — Hung for being Poor. — Pauperism in England. — In the United States . . .	33-36
X. CLASS LEGISLATION.	
In Favor of Capital and against Labor. — Testimony of Professor Rogers; of Professor Jevons. — Statute of Laborers. — Statute of Apprentices. — Sufferings of Laborers. — Professor Ely on Child Labor. — Class Legislation in America	36-39
XI. SPREAD OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE.	
In Russia. — In England. — In France. — In the United States. — Industrial Liberty Curtailed. — Democracy and Socialism. — Industrial Democracy a Necessity	39-42
XII. THE DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE.	
Power of Knowledge. — Statistics of Schools and Progress of Knowledge in Russia. — In Italy. — In	

	PAGE
Germany. — In France. — In Great Britain. — In Spain. — In the United States. — Newspapers in the United States and Canada. — Increase of Books. — Effect on the Masses	42-45
XIII. THE DECAY OF RELIGION.	
Roscher. — Loss of Faith a Danger. — Working men and the Church. — Despair of Labor Reformers. — Self-Indictment of the Church. — Charities. — Liberty Dependent upon Religion. — Historical Examples. — Purified Christianity and Socialism . . .	45-49

CHAPTER III

THE FIVE POSTULATES OF SOCIALISM

- I. **LABOR IS THE SOURCE OF ALL VALUE.**
 The Basal Principle. — Labor in its Broadest Sense. — Mental and Moral Workers. — False Impressions. — Manual Laborers the Principal Sufferers under Capitalism. — Two Kinds of Value. — Land. — Politico-Economic Authority for this Postulate. — The Principle Self-evident. — Capital. — Money not Capital. — Capital Non-productive. — Mr. Rae's Remarkable Assertion. — Theory that Capital employs Labor. — Capital transferred to Products. — Capital is Value. — All Capital is produced by Labor. — Socialism and Capital. — The System at Fault. — Capital is Congealed Labor. — Nature of Labor as Measure of Value. — Concrete and Abstract Labor. — Socially Necessary Labor. — Quantity of Labor the Measure of Value. — Equal Hours of Concrete Labor not of Equal Value. — Confusion on this Subject. — Mr. Rae's Erroneous Theory of Value. — Corollaries of this Postulate. — Bright. — Dr. Behrends . . . 50-66
- II. **PRIVATE CAPITAL IS A SOCIAL CRIME.**
 How Private Capital is Robbery. — The System at Fault. — Marx on the Method of Exploiting Labor. — Socialists Object to Private Capital, not Property. — Land. — Inheritance. — Roman and Christian Ideas of Property. — The New Political Economy. — Land Monopoly. — Important Admission of Dr. Behrends. — His Contention with Mr. George. — Inconsistency of Dr. Behrends. — Private Capital Incompatible with Fraternity. — Vicious Maxims of Politico-capitalistic Economy illustrated by an Allegory. — Property not a Part of the Possessor as Dr.

	PAGE
Behrends alleges. — Property not Absolute. — Professor Ely. — Spencer. — Land Monopoly. — Mr. Joseph Cook's Criticism. — Tyranny of Capital. — Dr. Strong. — Christian Fathers on Private Capital. — Land Originally Common. — Important Admissions. — The Social Evolution. — The Disinherited of Leeds, England. — The Land Question in America. — Equality of Rights. — The Christian Idea of Property	66-89
III. THE RICH ARE GROWING RICHER, AND THE POOR POORER.	
Formula of Rodbertus. — Of Marx. — Essential Features of the Capitalistic System. — Freedom of Contract. — The Question one of Relativity. — Rich Men. — Corroborative Testimony of Political Economists, Professor Ely, Dr. Strong, Professor Cairnes, Professor Adams. — Gulf between Classes widening. — Laborers in England worse off than under Feudalism. — Dependence of Labor. — Poverty deepens as Wealth increases. — Over-crowding in New York. — In London. — Horrible Condition of the Poor. — Profits of Wall Street. — Extremes of Inequality. — Dr. Strong's Picture of the Rich and Poor. — Work of Women and Children. — Poor Food. — Unsanitary Abodes. — Impure Water. — Brutal Law of the Survival of the Fittest. — Not the <i>Absolute</i> , but <i>Relative</i> , Condition of Rich and Poor. — Infirmary of Dr. Behrends's Argument. — Average Wages. — Mr. Rae against Mr. George. — Fallacy of Mr. Rae's Argument. — His False Assumptions as to (1) Decrease of Pauperism. — (2) Higher Standard of Living, — (3) Longer Life. — (4) Larger Share of Production. — (5) Unaltered Proportion of Product between Rich and Poor Families. — Starvation Wages. — Professor Walker's Testimony. — Reform Imperative . . .	90-119
IV. THE WAGES OF LABOR FURNISH A BARE SUBSISTENCE.	
Marx on the Method of Exploiting the Laborer. — Lassalle and the Iron Law. — Meaning of Bare Subsistence. — The Accepted Economic Law of Wages. — Capitalism necessitates It. — Grinding Process. — Statistics in the United States. — In England. — Competition and a Bare Subsistence. — Malthus's Doctrine that Population increases Faster than Subsistence. — Darwin. — Mr. George on Malthusianism. — Professor Walker on Competition. — Mobility not a Remedy.	

	PAGE
— Dr. Gladden affirms this Law of Wages.— Competition opposed to Christian Ethics.— Suffering of Working Classes.— Slow Process of Starvation.— Fewer Laborers owning Their Homes.— Labor as a Commodity.— Theory that Cost of producing Laborers should determine Wages.— Men not Commodities.— Men degraded below Brutes.— Professional Workers.— Mr. Rae's Theory of Wages.— The Wages-system defrauds the Laborer.— The Just Reward of Labor	119-138
V. THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF CAPITAL. Capital Distinguished from Other Property.— Fraternal Government.— Equity demands Public Ownership.— Bourgeois and Proletariat Classes.— <i>Laissez-faire</i> and Competition.— Professor Cairnes on the Hopelessness of Labor.— Dr. Woolsey on the Danger of Private Wealth.— Remedial Laws.— Christianity demands State Ownership.— Socialism and the Gospel contrasted with Individualism.— Vicious Principle of Self-interest.— State Ownership associated with Religion.— Early Communistic Societies.— Babeuf.— St. Simon.— Fourier.— Brook Farm.— Shakers.— Cabet.— Communism not Socialism.— Louis Blanc.— Proudhon.— Fichté.— Weitling.— Rodbertus.— Lassalle.— Professorial Socialists.— Their Principles.— Christian Socialists.— In England, Maurice, Kingsley, Hughes.— In Germany.— Catholic and Protestant Development.— Golden Fruit of Christian Socialism . .	138-164

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF THE SOCIALISTIC STATE

- I. THE SOCIALISTIC STATE RESTS ON FIRST PRINCIPLES, HENCE, DETAILS ARE NOT ESSENTIAL.
Socialists not bound to furnish Details.— Presumption in Favor of Capitalism overcome.— Right Principles may be trusted 165-167
- II. THE NATURE OF THE STATE CRITICALLY EXAMINED.
Ambiguity of the Word.— Definition.— Relation of Individuals.— The State is the Largest Politico-social Organism.— Its Object is Social Justice.— Two Opposite Conceptions.— Individual Liberty Theory.— Social Justice the True Object.— Constitution of the United States.— Its Ethical Basis.— Professor

	PAGE
Sumner's Vicious Definition of Civil Liberty. — The State a Necessary Good, not a Necessary Evil. — Equality. — Abuse of Personal Liberty. — The State and <i>Laissez-faire</i>	167-181

CHAPTER V

THE INADEQUACY OF VARIOUS REMEDIES PROPOSED FOR SOCIAL ILLS

I. PROFIT-SHARING.	
Three Kinds. — Advantages. — Rev. N. P. Gilman's Hopeful View. — No Economic Basis. — Fails to give Workmen Greater Proportionate Share. — Uncertainty from Fraud, from Necessity. — Application. — Publicity. — Want of Adaptation. — Historical Failure. — Success, Exceptional	182-188
II. CO-OPERATION.	
Robert Owen and Co-operation. — Development of the Principle. — Distributive Co-operation. — In Great Britain. — In the United States. — Partial and Integral Co-operation. — Eight Reasons showing its Inadequacy. — Half-truth. — Of Limited Application. — Function of Government. — Competition Antagonistic. — Ignorance of Wage-workers. — Its Failure. — Unfavorable Conditions. — Abolition of the <i>Entrepreneur</i> . — Ignorance overcome by Aggregate Wisdom in Universal Co-operation	188-197
III. CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.	
Terms Explained. — First adopted in France. — Their History. — Reasons of Insufficiency. — Settle no Principle. — Unscientific to fix Wages in the Future. — Involves Expense. — Mere Armistice . .	197-201
IV. THE NATIONALIZATION OF LAND.	
Theory of Mr. George that this would be Sufficient. — Peculiarity of Land as a Factor in Production. — Economic Rent. — Theory that Rent determines both Wages and Interest. — Erroneous Conclusions. — Mr. George builds Logically on the Ricardian Law of Rent. — The Unsuccessful Attack of Mr. Rae. — How Rent affects Price. — The Law of Rent Obsolete. — Ricardo's Inconsistency. — Rent depends on Situation and Improvements. — Margin of Cultivation does not determine Wages, Interest, or Profits. — Error of Mr. George. — Land is a Form of Capital. — Its Nationalization would not destroy Other Monopolies	201-214

V. AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Mr. Gunton's Work. — Average Length of Working Day. — Leisure for Workmen. — Increased Speed of Machinery. — Public Approval of an Eight-hour Day. — Reasons of Its Insufficiency. — Historical Evidence. — Real Issue one of Wages not Time. — Affects no Economic Principle. — Industrial Relations Unchanged. — Wages not Increased. — Mr. Gunton's Error as to Enforced Idleness. — No Effect on Profits. — Theory that Wages depend on Standard of Living Unsound 214-227

VI. INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

A Movement in the Right Direction. — Not a Solution of the Social Question. — Prejudice against Manual Labor. — Need of Apprenticeship. — Unduly increases Skilled Labor. — Renders Competition Fiercer 227-230

VII. THRIFT, INTELLIGENCE, AND MANLINESS.

These Valuable Qualities Powerless against Capitalism. — Futility of Hackneyed Remedies. — Discontent increases with these Virtues. — Capital will reap the Benefit. — Skilled Labor attacks Capitalism. — Thrift, etc. — Can apply only to the Few. — If General, it would intensify the Struggle. — No Tendency to equalize the Burdens and Benefits. — Example from Elgin Watch Works. . . . 230-235

VIII. THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF CAPITALISM.

Conservatism. — Dr. Gladden's Theory of Reform. — Moral Wrong cannot be Christianized. — Private Capital Inconsistent with Christianity — Freedom of Contract, Unjust, Immoral, and a Misnomer. — Competition is War. — All Forms of Evil seek to be Christianized 236-243

CHAPTER VI

ADVANTAGES OF THE SOCIALISTIC STATE

I. MAMMON DETHRONED.

Office of Money. — Relation to Capitalism. — Vicious Character of Interest and Commercial Credit. — Gold, Corrupting. — The Money-getting Passion. — Abolition of Money a Blessing . . . 244-249

	PAGE
II. LABOR THE FORTUNE OF ALL. Socialism with Christianity requires that All should Labor. — A Blessing to the Idle Rich. — Dignity of Labor. — The Shiftless compelled to Labor. — Labor	249-251
III. LABORERS NO LONGER EXPLOITED BY MEANS OF MONEY-WAGES. Payment in Kind. — Method of Exploitation. — Two Values of Labor. — Laborer robbed by Means of Money-wages	251-252
IV. JUSTICE IN TAXATION. Theory of Taxation. — Inequality. — Demoralizing Effects of Evasion. — Socialism the only Remedy .	252-254
V. THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC UNDERMINED. Its Enormous Proportions. — Statistics. — Love of Money its Chief Support. — Source of Corruption. — In the United States. — In Great Britain. — How Socialism would destroy It	254-258
VI. THE OVER-WORKED RELIEVED. Inequality in Social Conditions. — Two Standards of Justice. — Present Disparagement of Labor. — Overworked Old Men, Women, and Children. — Relief under Socialism	258-261
VII. THE PURIFICATION OF POLITICS. Causes of Political Corruption. — Election Frauds. — Venality of Public Office. — Purchase of Votes. — The Lobby. — Failure of Civil Service Re- form. — Effect of Abolition of Money	261-265
VIII. ILLITERACY REMOVED. Increase of Illiteracy. — Compulsory Education. — Children in the City of New York. — Capitalism Hostile to Popular Education. — Adam Smith. — Salutary Effects of Socialism	265-268
IX. POVERTY ABOLISHED. Poverty and Riches. — Poverty Unnatural and Un- christian. — Society should abolish it. — Ability of the Socialistic State to provide Support . . .	269-272
X. CRIME GREATLY DECREASED. Relation of the State to Crime. — Idleness and Crime. — The Responsibility of Society for Crime. — Testimony of Experts. — How to "Avoid Temptation." — Riches and Poverty determined by So- ciety. — How Socialism removes Temptation. — Dr. Woolsey's Fear lest the Abolition of Crime cut off the "Spice" of Life. — Natural Depravity and Environment	272-284

XI. THE PREVENTION OF WASTE.

Reticence of Political Economy. — Definition of Economic Waste. — Twenty Sources of Waste. — (1) Needless Railways. — (2) Needless Stores and Manufactories. — Bureaucratic Management under Capitalism and Socialism compared. — (3) Needless Advertising. — (4) Needless Drummers. — (5) Needless Enforced Idleness. — (6) Needless Commercial Crises. — (7) Needless Adulterations and Imitations. — (8) Needless Litigation. — (9) Needless Police and Prisons. — (10) Needless Theft and Embezzlement. — (11) Needless Intemperance. — (12) Needless Change in Fashion. — (13) Needless Luxury. — (14) Needless Charity. — (15) Needless Inefficiency of Labor from Ignorance. — (16) Needless Inefficiency from Indifference. — (17) Needless Inefficiency from Want of Adaptation. — (18) Needless Banking. — (19) Needless Insurance. — (20) Needless Strikes and Lock-outs. — Enormous Aggregate of Waste. — Effect of Socialism 284-319

CHAPTER VII**OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM CONSIDERED****I. AS TO THE CHARGE OF ATHEISM.**

Recent Socialism Christian. — Why Atheism Charged. — Its Falsity. — Principles of Socialism Christian. — Dr. Woolsey's Admission. — Christian Ministers now Leaders. — Mr. Cook's "Procession" of Infidel Socialists. — Socialism honors the Sabbath 320-325

II. AS TO THE CHARGE OF ANARCHISM.

Origin. — Socialism distinguished from Anarchism and Communism. — Anarchism and Individualism One. — Socialism repudiates Anarchism 325-328

III. AS TO EQUALITY.

Vagueness of the Word. — Natural and Artificial Inequalities. — The Principle of Equality. — Theocratic Equality. — Mere Equality of Chances unjust. — The Vulgar Misrepresentation as to an Equal Division of Property 328-332

IV. AS TO THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL.

Socialism not opposed to Capital. — Public Capital demanded. — Misrepresentations 332-334

	PAGE
V. AS TO THE CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY.	
Charge as made by Mr. Cook. — Refuted by Socialistic Writers and Platforms. — Professor Clark and the Right of the State. — Ruskin on the Love of Money	334-339
VI. AS TO MARRIAGE AND THE HOME.	
Objections as formulated by Dr. Woolsey and his Admission. — Loose Utterances not Representative. — Divorce and Unchastity under Individualism. — Private Capital not necessary to Family Life. — Ability of the State to care for the Helpless. — Capitalism hinders Marriage. — Inheritance. — Its Evils. — Under Socialism. — No Analogy between Former Utopias and Socialism. — Value of the Home. — Mr. Grönlund on Family Life under Socialism. — Dr. Behrends's Criticism. — His Inconsistency. — Capitalism threatens the Home. — The Individual, not the Family, the Unit of Society. — Socialism would increase the Number and Happiness of Families	339-355
VII. AS TO THE EQUAL VALUE OF ALL LABOR TIME.	
Objection Stated. — Absurdity of this Charge. — Dr. Woolsey and Mr. Rae on Marx. — A Glaring Misquotation. — Abstract Labor distinguished from Concrete. — Dr. Woolsey's Strictures on Marx's Position examined. — Misrepresentation. — Hours of Different Concrete Labor not Equal. — How Skilled is reduced to Simple Labor. — Socially Necessary Labor determines Value. — Present Unjust Inequalities of Remuneration. — Men rewarded according to Smartness. — Divine Law of Wages	355-365
VIII. AS TO THE IMPAIRMENT OF MOTIVES TO EXERTION.	
Mr. Rae's View that Common Property is fatal to Progress. — Sixteen Reasons in Answer to this Objection. — It does not affect Principles of Socialism. — Applicable only to Present Order. — Admission of Dr. Woolsey. — Laborer's Interest Essential. — A False Assumption. — Interest increased under Socialism. — Interest of Officers. — Universality of Interest. — Riches not the only Motive. — Each for All and All for Each. — Production increased. — Experience. — Tendency of Capitalism. — Motive to Subsistence and Riches Different. — Mr. Rae's False Assumption. — Mis-	

	PAGE
conception as to State-help. — The Nature of State-help. — Mr. Cook on State- and Self-help. — National Progress not the Supreme End. — Historical Examples of the Effects of Wealth.	365-375
IX. AS TO THE DESTRUCTION OF LIBERTY.	
Objection formulated by Dr. Woolsey. — His Wonderful Picture. — Mr. Rae's Refrain. — Socialism insures Free Choice of Occupation. — State now assists Pupils in Choice of Studies. — Dr. Behrends's Sweeping Assertion. — Different Kinds of Freedom. — Brutal Industrial Freedom. — Freedom of Socialism. — Governmental Regulation and Guaranty of Freedom. — Examples. — Need of Governmental Restraint in Industry. — The Government and the People One	375-382
X. AS TO CLASS RULE BY LABORERS.	
Dr. Behrends fires upon his Friends. — No Classes under Socialism. — All are Workers. — Dr. Behrends refuted by his Own Authorities. — Objection unsupported.	382-384
XI. AS TO THE CORRUPTION OF POLITICS.	
Mr. Cook on this Objection. — Based on a Misconception of Socialism. — Changed Conditions of Socialism. — The Spoils System abolished. — Number of Office-holders. — Corruption Money . . .	384-388
XII. AS TO THE OBJECTION THAT SOCIALISM IS IMPRACTICABLE.	
Strength and Weakness of this Objection. — Twelve Reasons showing the Practicability of Socialism. — Right as against Expediency. — Examples of this Stock Objection to Reform. — Justice is Practicable. — Socialism not a Utopia. — Dr. Woolsey's Criticisms Unfounded. — History utters no Voice against Socialism. — Social Progress. — Solidarity. — Contradictions of Individualists. — Selfishness not the only Practicable Principle. — Communistic Societies. — Distinguished from Socialism. — Socialism opposes Idleness. — Details not Essential. — Professor F. A. Walker on "Looking Backward." — No Inteference with Privacies of Life. — The Impracticable being realized. — Present Ideal the Future Practicability. — Historical Examples. — The Unethical Character of this Objection. — Equally Applicable to the Decalogue or the Millennium	388-402

CHAPTER VIII

REVELATION AND OUTLOOK OF SOCIALISM

WILL SOCIALISM BE REALIZED ?

	PAGE
I. GROWTH AND NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM.	
Its Phenomenal Spread. — A World Movement. —	
Number of Socialists in Europe. — Rate of Increase	
in Germany. — In England. — In France. — In	
Russia. — Nihilism Temporary. — In United States.	
— Labor Organizations. — The Great Meeting of	
the International	403-411
II. POLITICAL GAINS OF SOCIALISM.	
Extension of State Authority. — Political Progress	
in Germany. — William II. — Labor Congress of	
1890. — Socialists in the Reichstag. — Increase of	
Socialistic Vote. — Socialist Legislation in Eng-	
land. — Mr. Sidney Webb's Summary. — Socialism	
is Self-help. — Progress in France. — In the United	
States. — The Situation Favorable. — Extension	
of the Functions of Government. — Professor Faw-	
cett on the Political Outlook	412-425
III. INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM.	
Association the Essence of Socialism. — Trusts. —	
Association of Capital. — Railroads and their	
Nationalization. — Oppressive Capitalistic Com-	
binations. — Association of Labor. — The Muster-	
ing of Hostile Forces. — Labor Legislation. —	
Farmer's Alliance. — Public Sentiment	426-432
IV. EDUCATIONAL FORCES SET IN THE DIRECTION OF	
SOCIALISM.	
(1) Political Economy changing Front. — The New	
School Socialistic. — The Science in Europe. —	
Conservatism of American Economists Yielding.	
— Natural and Artificial Monopolies. — Professor	
Ely on the Business Function of Government. —	
Logic of Professor F. A. Walker's Admissions. —	
The Revolution of Economic Philosophy in Ger-	
many. — (2) Schools and Colleges. — Interest in	
Sociology. — Political Economy in Schools. — In-	
dustrial Schools in Europe. — Sociologists and	
Socialist Professors in Colleges. — (3) Socialistic	
Publications. — Educational Influence. — Socialist	
Newspapers in the United States. — The Nation-	
alist Magazine. — The New Nation. — Nation-	

	PAGE
alist Clubs.—Socialist Publications in England.— (4) New Books.—The Attitude of the Press.— "Progress and Poverty."—"Looking Backward." —"Modern Socialism."—Favorable Tone of Newspapers and Magazines	432-445
V. THE NEW ETHICS AND SOCIALISM.	
Progress of Ethical Ideas.—Fraternity.—Effects of Steam.—Solidarity of Society.—Essence of Re- ligion.—Progress of the Conception of Brother- hood.—Its Political and Social Recognition.— Opposed to Individualism.—Christian Ministers indorsing Socialism.—Theological Seminaries.— Reverend Drs. Hale, Gladden, and Abbott.—The New Ethics in Europe	445-452

CHAPTER IX

WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE ABOUT IT

- I. SOCIALISM OUGHT TO BE INTRODUCED GRADUALLY.**
Social Reform a Growth.—Feudalism gave Way
Gradually.—Natural Monopolies socialized First.
—Only Peaceful Methods employed 454-456
- II. CAPITALISTS OUGHT TO REGARD SOCIALISM WITH FAVOR.**
Wealth not an Unmixed Blessing.—Private Wealth
against the Commonwealth.—(1) Something must
be done.—Reform or War.—(2) Mental Suffer-
ing of Capitalists.—Suicides.—The Ordeal of
Financial Trouble and Failure.—Number of Fail-
ures.—(3) Personal Danger of the Rich.—Oppres-
sion of Anxiety and Fear.—Annoyance from So-
licitations and Beggars.—(4) Riches make False
Promises.—Testimony of Rich Men.—Of the
Scriptures 456-462
- III. OUR COUNTRY SHOULD MAKE HASTE SLOWLY IN THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH.**
Wealth in the United States.—Increase.—Immi-
gration.—Not Numbers but Character needed.—
The Conspiracy against the Republic.—False Idea
of Civilization.—Danger of Luxury 463-466
- IV. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OUGHT TO ESPOUSE THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM.**
Christianity and the Social Question.—The Roots
of Capitalism.—Christ the Author of the Assump-

	PAGE
tions of Socialism. — The New Testament opposed to the Present Order. — The Attitude of the Church. — Temporizing Policy Suicidal. — Losing her Hold on the Masses. — The Victim of Capitalism. — Respectability and Cant will not avail. — Pro-capitalism or Anti-capitalism. — Fiction of the Church as to Riches. — Capitalistic Perversion of Scripture. — The Christian Church will not retreat before Capitalism	466-474

SOCIALISM

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS OF SOCIALISM

I.—*Definition and Essential Nature.*

"Every Christian, who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his master, is at heart a Socialist." — ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.

THE title of this book indicates its character and scope. Political economists of the new school agree that the current orthodox political economy is fatally defective: many of its assumptions are false, and it entirely ignores the ethical principle which in all departments of sociology has become the chief corner-stone. A member of the American Social Science Association excused his absence from one of its meetings by saying, "I stayed at home to read a book on social science that furnishes me with a solution of all the problems discussed there. The first chapter was written by a man named Moses, and the last by a man named John, and the name of the book is the Bible."¹

If in the modern system of industry wage-workers, as a class, are oppressed by the tyranny of capital, as is charged by socialists, it is because the law of ethics laid down in the Christian Scriptures and acknowledged as obligatory in all civilized society has been violated. In an extended examination of the social question, the conviction that such is the fact has been ever deepening. The Bible is the only

¹ Homiletic Review, January, 1885, p. 29.

solution of this question. Indeed, no wrong was ever righted, no truth ever established, without a rigid application of the precepts sanctioned and enforced in the Bible. "The ethics of Socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them."¹ Socialism denotes a particular industrial order, as Christianity denotes a particular religious order. Like Christianity, it is variform. Two essential factors inhere in every phase of Socialism; one is critical, the other constructive; one declares that capitalism, the existing order, enriches the few who are employers, and impoverishes the many who are wage-workers, by robbing the latter of a large part of their earnings; the other declares that in order to remedy this evil which has become insupportable, business should be taken out of the hands of private persons and placed under public management, so far as to secure justice to workingmen in the distribution of the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life which constitute wealth in the economic sense. This management by the State, by society, would be social rather than individual, hence Socialism. Socialism is therefore twofold: it prefers a serious charge against the present industrial *régime* and proposes an adequate remedy.

Again, Socialism is the opposite of individualism. What is understood by individualism? In answer, let us glance at the different industrial systems in the history of labor. The first was that of natural liberty, in which every man worked for himself and had a free seat at the table of nature; the second was slavery; the third feudalism; the fourth, which is the present and is called the capitalistic system, because based upon private capital. Its three factors are private capital, freedom of contract, and free competition. The centre of this system, around which these three satellites move and which is the source of all their light and life, is the vicious principle of self-interest.

The essence of this system is that each individual, however strong or weak, shall have perfect freedom to provide for himself. This is economic individualism. It asks the State to let business alone, and to guarantee the right of

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica, article "Socialism."

each individual to seek his own interest and to be relieved from any responsibility for the welfare of his neighbors. We shall soon see that this anti-Christian and barbarous doctrine of self-interest is the corner-stone of the existing order. Socialists declare that this individual or capitalistic system has been thoroughly tried and everywhere results in the oppression and degradation of the laborer, and that this exploitation will continue until the system is abolished, and the State shall assume the ownership of all land and other instruments of production, and conduct all business for the benefit of all the citizens alike; then, and not till then, can working men hope to receive their share of the wealth they produce.

To this industrial order the term Socialism was first applied by Reyband, a French writer, in 1839. The word, however, originated in England a few years earlier in connection with the Owen movement.

Socialism should be sharply distinguished from communism, which is an older term and denotes a common life with property held in common rather than by individuals. Communism agrees with socialism as to the nationalization of industry, but Socialism does not agree with communism as to a common life.

Nihilism, which is at the antipodes of Socialism, is from the Latin word *nihil*, meaning nothing. Nihilists put confidence in nothing as it now is, hence they would destroy all existing institutions while proposing nothing to take their place. It thus differs from Socialism, which has in view a new social organism.

Anarchism is individualism gone mad. Like individualism, anarchism says to the State "hands off, let us alone:" they both agree in the industrial freedom of each individual, but anarchism is violent, while individualism is peaceful. Individualism is pure industrial anarchism minus violence. Socialism is opposed to both. The German economist Schaeffle says, "The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transmutation of private competing capital into united collective capital." This is equivalent to saying that the State should be the only capitalist; it should

produce and distribute all economic goods. It is evident, however, that Schaeffle has in mind not critical but only constructive or remedial Socialism, and of this his definition gives us the quintessence.

II. — *The Five Fingers of the Socialistic Hand.*

“‘But,’ said the magistrate, ‘are you not, then, a Socialist?’ — ‘Certainly.’ — ‘Well, but what then is Socialism?’ — ‘It is,’ replied Proudon, ‘every aspiration towards the improvement of society.’ — ‘But in that case,’ very justly remarked the magistrate, ‘we all are Socialists.’ — ‘That is precisely what I think,’ rejoined Proudon.” — ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.

If we examine the Socialistic hand we shall find five fingers: 1. Economic; 2. Social; 3. Moral; 4. Political; 5. Religious.

1. The economic finger points to a more equal distribution of wealth. The present industrial system so favors the capitalist that laborers are systematically robbed. The platform of the Socialistic Labor Party of the United States says that under the present competitive system, the directors of labor, necessarily a small minority, monopolize the means of labor, and the masses are therefore maintained in poverty and dependence. The products of industry, therefore, must be more equally distributed, and nothing less than a new economical system can accomplish this result.

2. The social finger points to labor, rather than birth or wealth, as the condition of social recognition. It demands that the interests of society as a whole, rather than of individuals and classes, shall be the supreme object of the State and of each citizen. Its motto is, “Each for all, and all for each.”

3. The moral finger points to the principles of justice and brotherhood. Socialism bases its demands upon simple justice. It claims that since all wealth is produced by labor, it is purely a matter of right that laborers should enjoy what they produce; and any system which deprives them of such enjoyment and confers these products upon non-workers, enabling them to live in idleness and luxury,

involves the grossest injustice to working men. Again, a poor man willing to work frequently cannot get work, and the present system compels him and his family to starve, although directly across the way may be storehouses and granaries bursting with provision. Sound morality demands that an end should be put to this state of things. It is claimed that the principle of human brotherhood is equally outraged by the present industrial system. A genuine fraternal feeling is not compatible with the monstrous inequalities and suffering which exist in society.

4. The political finger, which is the more recent and prominent on the socialistic hand, points to the State as the only power capable of introducing and sustaining the new industrial order. The central idea of the present order is *self-interest*. Certain individuals, by luck or pluck, it matters not which, get control of machinery and all other means of production, and dictate terms to laborers, which want compels them to accept. In the pursuit of self-interest the laws unjustly favor the capitalist. True, equal freedom is allowed the laborer to pursue his own self-interest; but he is poor or dull, and freedom neither feeds the hungry nor makes the weak strong. It is now for the first time in the history of the world demonstrated, that perfect legal freedom among equals results in the most cruel oppression of the weak. Socialists demand, therefore, that individuals shall relinquish, and the State assume, the ownership and control of all land, machinery, railroads, telegraph-lines, etc. In other words, private *capital*, not private *property* such as furniture, clothing, books, pictures, statuary, food, and other species of property designed for one's own use and enjoyment, but private capital, which is property employed in business, shall become the common property of the whole people. The State would thus become a great industrial establishment.

5. The last finger is the religious.

The early and later history of Socialism reveals an intense religious spirit among its advocates. French socialists in 1850 placed upon the walls of their assembly rooms a picture of Christ with this inscription, "Jesus of Naza-

reth the First Representative of the people.”¹ There were not wanting socialistic leaders who, incensed at the sufferings of the poor and the indifference of the church, bitterly denounced Christianity and even blasphemed the name of God; but it was not the Christianity nor the God of the Bible, but rather of a church which had perverted the religion of Christ and fallen into the idolatry of mammon and caste. Repeatedly in the assemblies of workmen has the name of Christ been greeted with cheers and the mention of the church with hisses. The principles which underlie Socialism and are its sure foundation are most literal transcripts from the New Testament. Among these principles are equality, fraternity, and love.

The recent powerful impulse given to Socialism, both in Europe and America, is due to the recognition of its identity with the Christian religion. Socialism resembles Christianity in eight particulars.

1. It is cosmopolitan, embracing all men everywhere. Christianity says, God has made of one blood all nations, and is no respecter of persons. The statutes of “The International Workingmen’s Association” says its cause is not local or national, but social, and embraces all countries, and that they “Recognize truth, right, and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellow-men, without respect to color, creed, or nationality.”² Socialism therefore, like Christianity, aims to be a world movement.

2. Socialism is also the friend of education. It demands “compulsory education of all children under fourteen years of age.” It cannot admit of doubt that under Socialism the more general diffusion of knowledge would be realized.

3. Equality as taught in the Bible is more honored in Socialism than in the Christian church itself. Babœuf declared nearly one hundred years ago that, “The aim of society is the happiness of all, and happiness consists in equality.” It cannot be denied that the church stops far short of the kind and degree of equality which Christ requires.

¹ As quoted in “French and German Socialism” (Ely), p. 146.

² “French and German Socialism,” p. 21.

4. Socialism insists that the true idea of wealth is not for private emolument, but for the benefit of society. Christianity also says, "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbor's good."

5. Socialism asks for a recognition of *social* justice. Commercial justice, as now conceived and administered, is crushing and cruel to the weak. It says to them, "The inexorable laws of trade have fixed prices; give this and take that, however much you may suffer by the transaction." This is law, but not equity; "justice, not tempered with mercy." Socialists, therefore, demand the adoption of social or equitable justice between man and man. Christianity also says "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."¹

6. Socialism would have all individuals in society capable of work engaged in socially useful labor. Persons not so engaged are unjustly eating bread earned by the sweat of another's brow and have no moral right to live. Christianity also says, "If any would not work neither should he eat."²

7. Socialists have unceasingly demanded that the State should prohibit all work on Sunday. Christianity also requires the Sabbath day to be kept holy. It is a significant fact that a body of merely social reformers should come to the rescue of the Christian Sabbath, which a capitalistic Christianity, blinded by the mad pursuit of wealth, is rapidly secularizing.

8. The principle of co-operation, not necessarily the method, is eminently Christian. We need no citation from Scripture to show that mutual helpfulness and protection are the very essence of the gospel.

In these and other respects, Socialism presents a marked resemblance to Christianity. The advocates of Socialism have not always shown a Christian spirit in their methods of propaganda. Capitalistic writers, in opposing Socialism, make the most of the intemperate and inflammatory speeches of certain so-called Socialist leaders of the past, thereby filling their readers with prejudice against Socialism itself.

¹ Gal. vi. 2.

² 2 Thess. iii. 10.

It is gravely objected that Socialism would be hostile to Christianity, to republican government, to marriage, and other domestic relations essential to the welfare of society. We shall consider these objections at length in a subsequent chapter. Suffice it now to say, that if Socialism is hostile to Christianity, then Christianity is opposed to itself. It is difficult to see how republicanism can be injured by extending its principle to industry. It is a large faith in God that yields large faith in men.

It was such a faith that founded this Republic. It is the unrighteousness of capitalism that has destroyed the faith of multitudes. Unless men had faith in a higher power than the State, the work of their own hands, the political freedom which we now enjoy would have been a thing unknown. The statue of civil liberty has for its pedestal a group of motives, aspirations, and hopes that spring from a belief in an infinite, eternal, and holy God. Once destroy this belief in a power above man, and you start him on the road to anarchy and barbarism. Socialism is a distinct and progressive recognition of the principles of republicanism, as derived from the law of God.

Socialism, far from affecting unhappily family life, would certainly make it possible for families now broken up and destroyed by capitalism to be united and happy. It is capitalism that drives women and children into mills and mines; that sends from the protection of homes and parents young girls to seek their bread and meet their ruin in cities; that has so increased divorce as to startle all thoughtful men; that has raised the question, "Is marriage a failure?" and that to-day menaces the institution of home, and thus threatens the very foundations of society.

The Socialism of to-day exalts the home and marriage as divine institutions, and is not to be judged by the offensive utterances of unprincipled leaders, one of whom, a German, and a member of the Reichstag, said, "That under Socialism, the woman needs no longer, out of respect to her children, to be legally chained to one man."¹

Utterances like these, which are detested by modern

¹ Quoted by Woolsey in "Communism and Socialism," p. 257.

Socialism, are quoted by capitalistic writers, and made the basis of long and serious dissertations showing how Socialism tends to destroy the family. Socialism utterly repudiates the violent language of a certain class of revolutionary Socialists who have now for the most part gone over to Anarchism, where they belong. They applied epithets to capitalists so false and fiendish as to offend all right-minded people, such as "The Grand larcenists of America," "the slimy vampires of capitalism," "bloated bondholders," "robbers," "the entire legal fraternity, soldiers, police, spies, judges, sheriffs, priests, preachers, quack-doctors," etc., are "lice, leeches, vampires, and vermin."¹

They openly advocated destruction and murder in such incendiary language as, "Hurrah for science, hurrah for dynamite, the power which in our hands shall make an end of tyranny." "We have no moment to waste. Arm! I say, to the teeth. The revolution is upon you." "Kill, destroy, annihilate your aristocracy and bourgeoisie to the last man." "Whether one uses dynamite, a revolver, or a rope, is a matter of indifference."

The press and public catch up these inflammatory utterances, writers against Socialism eagerly seize upon and parade them with telling effect, and the result is, that when Socialism is named, the average American citizen thinks of the Chicago anarchists and disposes of all Socialists with the exclamation, "A hideous band of conspirators!" Nothing could be more indiscriminate or unjust. It is as unjust as if one should judge the anti-slavery movement by the erratic and fanatic action of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Socialism regards capitalists and other classes here assailed as among the most worthy and honorable members of society. Capitalists, even the millionnaires, are no more responsible for capitalism than are paupers. It is the *system* that is at fault, and not individual members or classes. Socialism abhors the violent methods of these fanatics. It is peaceful and law abiding. It puts its trust in ballots rather than in bombs.

Many admit that Socialism has made a right diagnosis of

¹ "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 235.

the disease that afflicts society, but they regard its proposed remedies as so radical, as involving so many and great changes, that they refuse even to give them a hearing. This is a mistake. Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey said Socialism threatens to control the working classes everywhere, and "with fear of change perplexes monarchs."¹ It is already controlling large numbers of the upper classes, including scholars, clergymen, and business men. Socialism is taking deep root in our country. Democracy furnishes a soil peculiarly favorable to its growth. Political economists and socialists, both in Europe and America, assure us that the great social question "will not down at our bidding;" a real grievance, a glaring wrong, lies at the bottom of it. Every consideration of justice and humanity demands the immediate intervention of the wisest statesmanship, the broadest philanthropy, and the most sanctified common sense.

God is summoning the church to leaven these conflicting forces of society with the principles of the gospel. If the gospel has no message for the social classes at war with each other, then let us "proscribe Christianity, burn the Bible, teach with the ancient philosophers that natural inequality justifies slavery; above all, no more primary education and newspapers. If the existing inequality of conditions is permanent and necessary, then to spread the gospel, to open a school, to establish a printing-press, and to extend the suffrage, are in so many ways to attack the existing order."²

It is a hopeful sign when wise and good men and women throughout the land and world are devoting themselves to the study of sociology. The mutterings of the lower classes, the great labor organizations, the sterling character of many of their leaders, the glaring injustice and social tyranny that capitalism is inflicting on society, cannot longer be ignored. Ignorance is inexcusable, indifference criminal, vituperation suicidal.

¹ "Communism and Socialism," p. 7.

² "Socialism of To-day." (Laveleye) Introduction, p. 36.

CHAPTER II

CAUSES THAT HAVE PRODUCED SOCIALISM

"Broken by the oppression of ages, laborers formerly considered themselves born to maintain the great, . . . 'belief and obedience were an inheritance.' A man was a Christian and a subject because he was so born. The Revolution came, saying, Arise! you are the equals of your masters. Quickly follows the question, Wherefore this iniquitous division: opulence to the idle, and destitution to the workers?"—LAVE-
LEYE.

THE causes that have operated to produce Socialism are many and complex. A careful and comprehensive study of social phenomena is indispensable to a right understanding of them.

This phenominal labor movement of the century extends throughout Christendom. It has assumed different names in different localities. In France it was called Communism, or Collectivism; in Russia, Nihilism; in England, Chartism; in Germany, Socialism; in America, Socialism, or Nationalism.

Whatever its name or nationality, it is, in one essential feature, the same everywhere; namely, a protest by wage-workers against the injustice of the present industrial system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor; that is, compels them to take less than they earn.

Most wage-workers making this protest have more points of agreement than disagreement with Socialism. Socialism is the labor question scientifically formulated. Let us now consider the causes that have produced it.

I. — *The Introduction of Machinery.*

"Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being."—JOHN STUART MILL.

At the beginning of the century nearly all work was performed by hand. To-day it is nearly all done by machin-

ery. In the little State of Massachusetts machinery is doing as much work as fifty million men.

The machinery in the mills of Great Britain is equal to 700,000,000 men — more than all the adult inhabitants of the earth.

Gladstone says, "That by the aid of machinery the manufacturing power of the world doubles every seven years."¹

From this cause has occurred within a century an industrial revolution which has so affected human society as to make the world well-nigh a new planet. To-day, by the aid of machinery, one man can provide bread for one hundred, or make cloth for two hundred and fifty, or boots and shoes for one thousand. Labor has smarted under these changes. An invention that enables one man to do the work of one hundred forces ninety-nine to stop work, which often means to stop eating. The introduction of the knitting-frame threw great numbers out of employment.

In the short space of five years, 1856 to 1861, 146,000 embroidery works in Ireland and Scotland were superseded by machinery. In 1846 the power-loom took the bread from the mouths of 250,000 workmen in Flanders. These are merely samples of cases that would fill volumes. "It is no wonder," says Thorold Rogers, "that they looked on machinery with the profoundest hostility, that riots and machine-breaking were frequent, and that the bitterest animosities were engendered."²

Laws were enacted, punishing machine-breakers with death. In 1816 six persons suffered the death penalty for machine-breaking. The record of this period gives a frightful list of riots, arsons, and murders occasioned by the sufferings of wage-workers. The mode of warfare has been modified, but the struggle continues with ill-concealed animosity, and the distrust and hatred of the laborer is met by the contempt and arrogance of the master.

¹ "Our Country" (Strong), p. 96.

² "Work and Wages," p. 495.

"History discloses no tragedy more horrible than the gradual extinction of the English hand-loom weavers — an extinction that was spread over several decades and finally sealed in 1838. Many of them died of starvation; many with families vegetated for a long time on two and a half pence a day. On the other hand, the English cotton machinery produced an acute effect in India. The Governor-General reported in 1834-35, 'The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of cotton-weavers are bleaching the plains of India.'"¹

Now, while it is true that the ultimate effects of machinery confer an absolute benefit upon laborers, and while its introduction is by no means always attended with discomfort to labor, and figures at hand prove that generally machinery after a while employed more workmen than it superseded,² it is, nevertheless, adding insult to injury to tell a laborer, pushed to the wall and rendered helpless by a machine, that in the future, perhaps in the next generation when all industrial processes and social forces become adjusted to the change, labor will be benefited by it. Not one laborer in a thousand knows how this is effected, nor does he care so long as his stomach is empty. In one respect the effect of machinery is a terrible disappointment. It was hoped that it would lighten labor. The toiling masses believed that when invention had made iron hands and steal sinews to do their work, their condition would be improved. But they are disappointed. John Stuart Mill says, "Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." This is a significant and tremendous indictment of modern industry. By means of machinery capitalists have been enriched and laborers *relatively* impoverished, and herein the latter have been deceived and disappointed. It was a quaint and homely saying of Abraham Lincoln, "You can fool some of the people all the time, and you can fool all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time."

¹ "Capital" (Marx), p. 431-2.

² "Contemporary Socialism" (Rae), p. 351.

Laborers, who constitute the vast majority of the people, feel that they have been victimized by the few who have obtained possession of machinery and capital, hence the complaint of Socialism.

The age of machinery has not passed. The disturbing influence, however, and the hardships to laborers in the future, can hardly equal those of the past, although it would not be safe, in view of the possibilities of invention and development that still await us, to say that machinery may not be practically a permanent cause of discontent. It is, however, a burning shame upon our civilization to allow tens of thousands of poor, honest working men and women to be turned out of work by the sudden introduction of machinery without any provision for their employment, thus compelling them to starve, or become the subjects of the degrading and pauperizing dribbles of charity. The difference between capitalism and Socialism is this: in the former the workman exists for the machine; in the latter the machine exists for the workman.

II. — *The Concentration of Capital.*

"There will therefore be an increasing tendency toward the centralization of great wealth in corporations, which will simply eat up the small manufactories and the small dealers. As the two classes of rich and poor grow more distinct, they will become more estranged, and whether the rich, like Sydney Smith, come to regard poverty as 'infamous', it is quite certain that many of the poor will look upon wealth as criminal."—
JOSIAH STRONG, D.D.

Another cause of Socialism is Concentration of Capital, thereby involving the ruin of small industries.

Steam is the most important factor in modern industry. Machinery in detached parts can be operated by hand or horse power, which can be employed in villages and in the homes of the people; but steam will move an immense and complex system of machinery, so that production may take place on a scale so large as to lessen cost.

Capital therefore concentrates, and a few immense establishments now do the work formerly done in villages and hamlets throughout the land. By this change individuals,

families, and whole townships have been financially ruined. Since 1860 upwards of 867 woollen-mills have been swallowed up, and the same fate has overtaken innumerable shoe-shops and other small industries. All over New England may be seen small shops and factories, that were once hives of industry and means of comfort, happiness, and manly independence, now deserted and decaying, while the broken windows and falling walls too often suggest to the laborer a corresponding degradation in his own estate. Railroads especially have impoverished multitudes, by causing industries to change location, compelling whole communities of laborers to move on, often at the sacrifice of their humble but hard-earned homes, and the severance of kindred and all the endearing associations of life. "The wholesale discharge of laborers from employment in the textile manufactures during the last quarter of the last century and the first quarter of the present, as the result of the successive inventions and improvements of machinery, required a readjustment of population to industry which amounted almost to a continuous revolution." ¹

It is largely the application of steam to machinery, concentrated in great manufacturing plants, that has occasioned this readjustment of population, this continual moving of laborers, which has greatly aggravated their condition. A rolling stone not only gathers no moss, but we have the highest authority for the economical precept, "Let every man abide in the same calling." ²

III. — *Division and Consequent Degradation of Labor.*

"'It is the same thing day by day, sir; it's the same little thing, one little, little thing, over and over and over.' The man who manages the great establishment may become rich — the man who makes the pin-head loses capacity to do anything else." — MR. JOSEPH COOK.

A third cause of Socialism is the Division of Labor and consequent Degradation of the Laborer.

Before the age of machinery and the massing of capital

¹ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 189.

² 1 Cor. vii. 20.

and operatives in large establishments, a single workman frequently performed every part necessary to the completion of an article. This required the exercise of skill and sound judgment, gave variety to labor and a consciousness of worth to the laborer, and caused him and his calling to be respected by the community.

By the subdivision of labor the industrial function and social estimate of the laborer are lowered. "The effect of machinery is to reduce labor as much as possible to the function of attendance and guidance."¹ In the boot and shoe industry are sixty-four distinct parts, most of which require but little experience or skill. The cobbler can no longer stick to his last, for his last has left him.

It is humiliating and exasperating to a workman who, at the cost of years of toil and application, has acquired skill, which has become a source of independence and honest pride, to find himself suddenly superseded by a machine, and compelled at reduced wages to stand and guide its movements — a service which can as well be, and soon is, performed by a girl. But the laborer not only suffers pecuniarily; he is socially and morally degraded. Division of labor contracts the sphere of the laborer, renders him more and more dependent upon others, dwarfs him mentally, and thus degrades him.

Workmen, complaining of the monotony of their work, said to Mr. Joseph Cook, "It is the same thing day by day, sir; it's the same little thing; one little, little thing, over and over and over." — "Think," adds Dr. Josiah Strong, "of making pin-heads ten hours a day, every working day in the week, for a year, — twenty, forty, fifty years! A nailer . . . does his day's work by pressing into the jaws of an ever-ravenous machine a small bar of iron. . . . Think of making that movement for a lifetime. . . . It admits of little interest and no enthusiasm in one's work; and, worst of all, it cramps the mind and belittles the man. Once the man who made the nail could make the iron fence also; now he cannot even make the nail, but only feed a machine that makes it."²

¹ "Work and Wages" (Rogers), p. 495.

² "Our Country" (Strong), p. 95, 96.

Is it any wonder that labor protests? To adopt a system of compulsory education, which enlarges workingmen's ideas of liberty, equality, and manhood, and at the same time reduce them to industrial machines, will inevitably result in social disturbances. It is certain that the subdivision of labor cheapens production, and is therefore an economic principle which will prevail more and more in the development of industry.

It is equally and lamentably certain that little or nothing has been done to counteract its baleful effect upon the character of laborers. They cannot afford to become mere automatons at the expense of their manhood. Because machinery can go on forever, it is forgotten that flesh and blood cannot do the same.

Labor may be a commodity, but the laborer is not. He has social, moral, political, and religious duties to discharge; and a Christian civilization is bound to guarantee such conditions of life as will enable him to discharge them. Despairing of capitalism, the laborer turns to Socialism for relief.

IV. — *The Separation of Industrial Classes.*

The first condition for Socialism is "A well-defined confrontation of the rich and the poor. . . . When the rich and the poor are separated by an abyss which there is no hope of ever crossing, how pride, on the one side, and envy, on the other, rage." — ROSCHER.

The separation of the laboring and employing classes is, especially in a free government, a cause of discontent. "It is maintained that democracy to be real must be economic as well as political."¹ Those acquainted with the literature of Socialism have observed that its objection to the present industrial system is not solely on account of economic considerations. Its bitterest complaint is against the assumption of superiority by employers, whom employees feel to be no better than themselves. "What is required here," said an English workman, "is to be very humble, bow very low, say good-morning, master, and be content to take a pound a week for all that." The same spirit is

¹ "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 274.

rapidly developing in America. What we have to fear is the segregation of a poor working class called in Europe the proletariat. So long as social conditions did not hinder individual success and advancement based on personal merit, we had little to fear; but once let class lines be so sharply drawn as to be impassable, let the gulf between Dives and Lazarus become fixed, and we shall have, not heaven on one side and hades on the other, but hades on both sides; the one festering with pride and contempt, the other with envy and hatred. Formerly the employer and workman worked side by side; mutual sympathy and respect prevailed. The apprentice looked forward to being a journeyman, and hoped soon to preside over a shop himself. The employer and the employed were on familiar terms. Neither work nor workmen were despised. Classes were practically unknown.

The history of New England shows that such an industrial and social status produces the grandest type of manhood. "Almost every New England shoe-shop was a lyceum. Not so romantic possibly as the academic groves where the Grecian seekers after truth gathered about the old-time philosophers, but quite in harmony with that Yankee combination of utility, with a keen spirit of inquiry into all things mundane and celestial.

"In the little shops of Lynn, Haverhill, Milford, and other shoe centres, it was a common thing for the workmen to hire a boy to read to them while they were at work the contents of the last newspaper. Questions public, philosophic, and theoretical were discussed with zest and accumen amid uninterrupted tasks."¹ This is not overdrawn.

No picture of my boyhood comes more vividly to mind than the little shoe-shop where two or three workmen wrought early and late, and where neighbors gathered to discuss law, politics, and religion, and from which its chief went forth to the legislature as the representative of the people. Turn now to the great cotton-mill. Eight hundred operatives rarely come in contact with the employer. He is a kind-hearted, benevolent, unassuming

¹ "The Labor Movement the Problem of To-day," p. 195.

man, yet he and his family dress, ride, and live in a style so far beyond his operatives as to excite their ill-will and envy. This finds vent in a Fourth of July parade, in which the employer is openly insulted by the appearance of a burlesque carriage representing the employer and his family, with the inscription blazoned on a conspicuous banner, "Our First Family."

We believe this incident which came under our observation is illustrative of a condition of things at which multitudes of laborers are inwardly chafing and which furnishes a reason for Socialism. Employees receiving wages that barely enable them to live feel keenly the injustice of the large remuneration of employers. The president of the New York Central Railroad is said to receive \$75,000 a year. Others in New York receive \$50,000 a year. The president of the New York Life Insurance Company is said to receive \$60,000. The same is paid to the president of the Central Trust Company: this list could be greatly extended, while the number receiving \$20,000, \$30,000, and \$40,000 in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston is much larger. It is not uncommon for the managers of cotton and woollen mills to receive salaries of \$10,000, while many of their employees receive barely enough to keep soul and body together. Is it any wonder that such extremes of compensation among those engaged in industry, especially in a government in which equality is a fundamental principle, should provoke discontent? The separation of the laboring and employing classes is, indeed, one of the most painful and dangerous tendencies in society. It is rapidly growing, in spite of any counteracting influence now existing. It seems certain that in a few years we shall have a permanent, hereditary laboring class. It seems equally certain that the genius of free institutions is incompatible, on the one hand, with the existence of such a class, or, on the other, of aristocracies of birth or wealth. We are developing, side by side, hostile forces. Socialism is the advance guard of the labor army. Political equality, the ripe fruit of Christianity, implies all other kinds of equality that Christian ethics demand. There are inequalities or-

dained of God and of nature that must ever exist, and the same is true in a sense of classes; but for our Republic founded on political equality to sanction any principle that separates the people into classes, and produces inequalities practically more galling than slavery, is plainly to pitch its tent towards Sodom.

V. — Competition.

“What is it that the scientific people tell us always happens in the struggle for existence? Is it not that the strongest individuals and the strongest races kill off the weakest? Competition is the struggle for existence, which is the law of the inferior races, adopted as the law of industrial society.” — WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D.D.

Among the causes of Socialism, Competition stands pre-eminent. Competition is the hub of the present industrial wheel. Work, wages, and prices revolve around it. Labor economically considered is a commodity bought and sold like wheat. Competition exists in connection with buying and selling. It exists between laborers seeking work; that is, seeking to buy money with labor. It exists between employers seeking laborers, and between laborers and employers, as when the former having labor to sell, and the latter money, vie with each other as to terms. Competition exists also among merchants, brokers, and capitalists in transactions which, in indirect ways, seriously affect laborers. In case the State does not interfere with trade and industry, competition is said to be free; we then have absolute free trade, domestic as well as foreign.

The Manchester or English free-trade school of economists have advocated this system of free competition. It laid great emphasis upon the doctrine of *laissez faire*, let alone; that is, the State should let labor and capital alone. It holds that the function of the State is to keep the peace, protect the rights of person and property, and allow every man to buy and sell and get gain, or labor or loaf *ad libitum*. The theory assumes that industrial, like natural laws are self-regulating and harmonious. Competition among employers keeps wages from being too low, and among laborers from being too high. This counteraction preserves a just

equilibrium between labor and capital. To illustrate: if a single laborer, in competition with his fellows, should sell his labor for less than the standard price of wages, competition among employers for the extra profit thus afforded would soon raise this laborer's wages to the standard. If, on the other hand, a laborer should get more than standard wages, owing to competition among employers, other laborers would immediately compete for the extra wages, which would again reduce them to the standard rate.

But suppose the standard of wages itself should be lowered, one of two things would happen — either employers would reduce the price of goods, profits remaining the same, so that the laborer would gain as a consumer what he lost in wages, or profits would increase, and this would stimulate employers to enlarge operations, which would increase the demand for laborers, and so raise the standard of wages to its proper equilibrium.

If, on the other hand, the standard should be raised, either goods would be dearer, profits remaining the same, so that the laborer would lose as a consumer what he gained in wages, or profits decreasing, employers would contract business and discharge laborers, which, by the operation of competition, would soon reduce the standard to its natural level. These are called the Economic Harmonizers of free competition. They are said to be natural industrial laws, which only require to be let alone by the State in order to work out for both labor and capital the best results that are possible. Free competition therefore is said to be the state of nature.

It rewards every one in proportion to his exertions. If the laborer does not seek his interests, his interests will seek him.

It demands freedom of contract and extols the principle of self-interest, which it is claimed is not selfishness, but the natural disposition of every one to provide for himself by the free use of the faculties God has given him.

Competition, it is claimed, confers upon society benefits of great importance. It keeps down prices, and promotes progress; it is the mother of invention; it stimulates in-

dividual effort, and allows every man to exercise his natural liberty. The principle, it is said, has its root in human nature and is sanctioned by Christianity. Such is the nature of competition and the advantages claimed for it.

Now, we are so accustomed to the principle, its laws and methods are so wrought into the industrial and social life of the capitalistic system of industry under which we were born and bred, that to challenge its truth is regarded by many almost as chimerical and offensive as it was for Galileo to question the belief in the stability of the earth, or the motion of the sun.

Now, let us be fair toward competition. It has not during certain stages of the capitalistic *régime* been an unmixed evil; nay, it has been a most important factor in progressive industry. It has served in the industrial evolution as war has in the social evolution. But, as war has had its day as a factor in civilization, so the system of competition must yield to a better way. Whatever its relations in the past to ethics, it now conflicts with the higher idea of right prevailing at the present time.

It is felt to be the cause of nearly all waste, ill-will, and misery that threaten society. It is already yielding to trusts, the unconscious forerunner and incipient form of Socialism. It has not yielded, however, out of regard to Socialism, but because it had so much rope it has hung itself.

We object to the competitive system and the whole philosophy which underlies it for the following reasons:—

1. It assumes that competition unhindered will work itself nearly or quite perfect. Professor F. A. Walker says, "We want more, not less, competition; when it is perfect, like the atmosphere, it presses equally on all." In other words, it assumes that competition can be perfect among unequal competitors.

2. It assumes that labor can be separated from the laborer and treated like a mere commodity, as corn or cheese.

3. It assumes that competition among employers is as severe as among laborers, so that employers have no advantage over laborers; in other words, that the demand for labor is as great as the supply.

4. It assumes that laborers can resort to the best market as readily as merchandise.

5. It makes money, not man, the centre and circumference of its system. Mammon swallows up humanity.

6. It ignores all ethical considerations in economics, which is unscientific, and has already proved ruinous to many of the higher interests of society.

7. Competition places the individual above society. It rewards not according to honest effort, fidelity in service, or character, but according to cunning, skill, and strength, thus leaving the weak to perish in the struggle for life.

8. It regards the wage-worker as a commodity subject to the law of supply and demand; assuming that, as cotton mills shut down when demand slackens, so laborers will stop being born the moment they are not wanted.

9. It assumes that free competition is a natural law, and therefore cannot and ought not to be restricted; that is, that the Manchester or English free trade school of Political Economy, the fundamental doctrine of which is *laissez faire*, non-interference by the State, is a politically sound and morally righteous principle.

10. It assumes that the free play of individual self-interest will result in the highest possible good of society as a whole.

11. It assumes that if a man does not seek his interest, his interest will seek him.

12. It assumes that that government is best which governs least, and this, no matter how complex society becomes and how unjustly the strong oppress the weak.

13. It assumes the validity of the maxim, "The greatest good of the greatest number," which, when analyzed, is found to contain more deadly moral poison than most of the current devil's saws.

We repudiate every one of these assumptions. They are all utterly false and most of them vicious. They are the spokes radiating from competition at the hub, and entering the rim of the industrial wheel at every point, and binding the whole capitalistic system firmly together. Is

it any wonder that political economy has been called the "dismal science"?

Competition has enriched employers and created an aristocracy of wealth on the one hand, and on the other has robbed and relatively degraded the laborer, pauperized whole classes, and is the mother of the greater part of the ills which afflict society to-day.

"Suppose, that of ten manufacturers, nine have a keen appreciation of the evils that flow from protracted labor on the part of women and children, and, were it in their power, would gladly produce cottons without destroying family life; and without setting in motion those forces that must ultimately result in race deterioration. But the tenth man has no such apprehensions."¹ He will grind women and children and society to powder for the sake of money. The nine men must adopt his methods, for their goods come into competition with his. Buyers ask simply the price. If the one manufacturer is grasping, inhuman, and dishonest, and these methods lead to low prices, the other nine must adopt them, or quit business.

Thus it is that in competition the lowest-toned man sets the moral standard to which all must conform. "I detest the methods of my business," said an employer, "but I am powerless." — "The time will come," said Mr. Pitt, "when manufacturers will have been so long established, and the operatives not having any other business to flee to, that it will be in the power of any one man in a town to reduce the wages, and all the other manufacturers must follow."² And he intimates when that time comes Parliament will redress the wrong, or be wiped out by revolution. It was competition in the mills of Nottingham, within the memory of many now living, that compelled children from nine to fifteen years of age to work frequently for twenty hours on a stretch, from four A. M. to twelve at night. A witness says that going from his office at twelve and one o'clock at night in the depth of winter he often met mothers taking

¹ "Relation of the State to Industrial Action" (Adams). In Publications of the American Economic Association, January, 1887, p. 41.

² As quoted, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

their children to neighboring print-works, the children crying."¹

The Mills in New England formerly ran from thirteen to fifteen hours. The rules in Patterson, N.J., required women and children to be at work at half-past four in the morning.²

Modern legislation prohibiting this oppression of labor is due to the adoption of the socialistic principle of State interference.

The waste of competition is a tremendous fact.* Two parallel railroads are built and operated at vast expense, when one would do all the work as well. A small town supports a half-dozen grocery and dry goods stores, where one would accommodate the people. Socialism would do away with this enormous economic waste.

Competition tolerates business practices offensive to morality.

Professor J. B. Clark, in his valuable work on "The Philosophy of Wealth," says, "There is one code for the family, the social circle, and the church, and a different one for mercantile life. It is a common remark that . . . a sensitive conscience must be left at home when its possessor goes to the office or the shop. We helplessly deprecate the fact, we lament the forms of business depravity that come to our notice, but attack them with little confidence."

Among laborers competition is fierce. Working men receiving just enough to keep their families respectably clad, housed, and fed are frequently displaced by men willing to work for wages sufficient only to maintain a semi-civilized standard of living. In the winter of 1886-87 the street-car drivers of Baltimore were working over seventeen hours per day. Why? Because other workmen stood ready to take their places. The drivers held a meeting and protested. Several ministers thought that the gospel of Christ had something to say against the outrage, and attended the meetings. There were two results: the first was the passage of a law for a twelve-hour day, the second

¹ As quoted by Walker, "The Wages Question," p. 167.

² "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 49.

was that a certain minister, whose family held street railway stock, said petulantly of one of the ministers who had spoken at the meeting, "I wish he would confine himself to preaching the simple gospel of Christ."¹

The present industrial life is pitched to the tune of free competition, but the conviction is becoming widespread that the Economical Harmonies not only fail to harmonize, but produce the discordant notes which threaten the whole social structure. What is the remedy? Socialism answers + substitute public for private control of industry. Their opponents reply this would make a bad matter worse, — that it is better to

"Bear those ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of."

Many, taking counsel of their fears, dare not approve Socialism even when convinced of the soundness of its principles. It is worthy of note, however, that a policy of restricted competition is already inaugurated in Europe and in this country. This is a recognition of the demand of Socialism.

When any class of citizens become so rich or so poor as to disturb the peace and hazard the existence of free institutions, then it is the duty of the State to interfere, and it is the duty of the press to raise its voice in behalf of reform and social justice, and it is the duty of the Christian church to cut the Gordian knot of mammonistic entanglements, take its pride of caste, its idolatry of respectability, its substitution of taste for conscience, and form for faith, and turn them over to their father, the devil, and go back to the New Testament and teach the doctrines of the primitive gospel, the chief of which are that all men are brethren; that they should love each other as themselves; that a man's life does not consist in the abundance of the things he possesses. Let these truths, stripped of the superincumbent, theological, dogmatic, æsthetic, literary, and mammonistic rubbish which the centuries have piled upon them, be preached in purity and simplicity, and competition will give way to Christian Socialism.

¹ Ely. "Congregationalist," March 1, 1888.

VI. — *Monopoly.*

"Whenever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the laborer, free or not free, must add to the working time necessary to his own maintenance an extra working time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production, whether the proprietor be the Athenian *καλὸς, κἀγαθὸς* Etruscan theocrat, *civis Romanus*, Norman baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian boyard, modern landlord, or capitalist." — KARL MARX.

"The spirit of monopolists is barren, lazy, and oppressive." — GIBBON.

Monopolies constitute another cause of Socialism. One of the statutes of the International Workingmen's Association says, "That the economic dependence of the laboring man upon the monopolist of the implements of work and sources of life forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation, and political dependence." A monopoly is the exclusive power to engage in a particular business. The State may grant it, as in the case of a patent right, which is a monopoly to encourage ingenuity, or persons may create it, as when a powerful corporation practically controls an industry, or a corner is formed which consists in buying up the articles in market, in order to sell at an advance price.

Monopoly thus precludes competition. Laborers combine to control the labor market. They seek exclusive power to work as against scabs. Here again monopoly precludes competition. It is the excrescence of competition. When the struggle of competition ends, the victors have a monopoly, and dictate terms of unconditional surrender to the vanquished competitors.

Monopoly thus forces small industries out of business and small traders and manufacturers into the ranks of laborers.

Monopoly is therefore the industrial "Slaughter of the innocents." Against these powerful combinations the complaint is widespread and bitter.

Labor is oppressed. When a poor man seeks employment in a great cotton-mill or railroad corporation, he has absolutely nothing to say in the matter: the work is fixed, the wages are fixed, the hours are fixed, the time of pay-

ment is fixed by the more powerful party, and he must accept them or starve.

All talk about "freedom of contract" to such a man is exasperating. Helpless as a child, he might as well undertake to negotiate with a cyclone. What then? Is the corporation at fault? No; but the capitalistic system.

If the great mill can produce cheaper than the small one, it will and ought to survive. Socialism says this principle of combination or co-operation is sound; the greater the plant, the less the cost of production. Let the principle, therefore, be extended to the whole social body. Put the mill and the railroad into the hands of the State, and then we shall have industrial freedom. It is difficult to answer Socialism on this point.

The land monopolies, which in our country consist in taking up immense tracts of land in the West, whether by railroads, foreigners, or Americans, should be at once prohibited.

Private monopoly in any trade or industry is the enemy of industrial freedom and of the public good.

Public monopolies, such as the post service, highways, etc., benefit all people, and are a public good.

The tendency at the present time is toward monopolies in the shape of syndicates, corporations, and trusts, all of which defy opposition, buy up or kill off weaker parties, control production, and fix prices in the most arbitrary manner, and are thus more objectionable than competition.

So-called natural monopolies are such as in themselves naturally exclude competition, as water-works in cities, railroads, canals, etc.

Artificial monopolies are those created and existing under circumstances that would naturally call for competition. Trusts, for example, are artificial monopolies, and are controlling nearly all the necessities of life.

Large dividends and low wages furnish the condition for social disturbances. They are too ill-matched to work together in a free country. They involve a species of industrial tyranny and social injustice particularly offensive to a free people and to the Christian religion which says, "Loose

the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke."¹

VII. — *Over-production.*

"Until all men are well clothed, housed, and fed, and furnished with material appliances for their higher life, like books, pictures, musical instruments, church buildings, etc., it will be a manifest absurdity to talk about a general over-production. . . . A glut in the market always means under-consumption. This is one of the sad and curious features of the life of the modern socio-economic organism." — PROFESSOR R. T. ELY.

Over-production is another cause of industrial disturbance. When in the normal condition of business operations the supply of commodities greatly exceeds the demand, the surplus goods constitute an over-production. Industries are brought to a standstill, wages reduced, laborers discharged, and their families plunged into economical and moral disaster. "Government appoints a committee in Prussia to inquire into the cause of the late depression, and they report over-production; in England committees also investigate and report likewise; in America, business companies and factory owners explain their distress by over-production, and are obliged to enter into mutual agreements to produce less."²

But why this evil of over-production? Why has demand failed to regulate supply? The answer is found in the *anarchy of private enterprise*. Capital has sought investment; competition has stimulated production; prosperity has made men careless and extravagant. Again, producers have no way of calculating future needs; they do not work in concert; they hope that each dull season will be followed by a brisk trade. To stop and start manufactories involves expense. Customers must be retained and the acquired momentum of great producing plants carries them forward even when the demand for their products slackens. Socialism declares that this result is inevitable under the present system, while in the socialistic state it would be impossible.

¹ Isa. lviii. 6 ² "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 208.

So long as individual producers act each for himself, without any knowledge of what others are doing or propose to do, there seems to be no way of adjusting supply to demand. It is reported, January 1, 1892, that the South has \$6,500,000 worth of cotton on hand that no one wants. What is the trouble? Simply this: every farmer raised cotton without any means of knowing how much others were raising.

The result is over-production; sales possible only at a loss entailing suffering and in some cases positive ruin. Socialism, through a central bureau, would estimate the probable demand for a given crop and regulate the acreage to be planted accordingly; besides, under Socialism no man would suffer, much less be ruined, by the failure of a particular crop or industry, because his income does not depend solely upon particular, but general, prosperity.

It is sometimes said that the real cause of surplus products is under-consumption rather than over-production, since if the poor only had the means to purchase no accumulation would have happened. This implies other industrial and social conditions than now exist. Socialism alone could make it possible. In 1884 cotton mills, unable to sell their goods, piled them up till storage room failed. The people had all the cotton cloth they needed. It was simply a case of over-production. With the aid of machinery and laborers multiplying as never before it is daily becoming easier to supply the world's needs. Mr. Edward Atkinson states that nine hundred and fifty hands can now make as much cotton cloth as ninety-five thousand hands formerly made. A cotton-mill with \$1,000,000 capital produces 17,500,000 yards of cloth per year. A few such mills would supply the entire demand of a great country.

Over-production is an injury to capital and a scourge to labor. Statistical science might possibly find a remedy. Monthly tables showing the amount of production of any given commodity, embracing those countries that are commercially related, issued by an international statistical bureau, might furnish producers with such information as would prevent over-production.

It may fairly be questioned, however, whether such knowledge, under the stimulus of competition and the risks of private enterprise, would be utilized. The law of supply and demand is subject to economic conditions that are constantly changing, and over which frequently man has no control, as the failure of crops.

VIII. — *Commercial Crises.*

"These maelstroms, the crises, then, are the direct production of private enterprise." — MR. LAURENCE GRÖNLUND.

Another cause of Socialism closely connected with the foregoing is Commercial Crises. These are seasons of business depressions which bring ruin to capitalists and distress to laborers. For above two hundred years they have occurred with mysterious regularity once in about ten years. "The first three years generally exhibit depression, then you have three years of healthy trade, and then come, say, two years of excited trade. Your ninth year is a bubble, and your tenth year is its explosion and collapse."¹

What are the reasons for these depressions? Political economists are not agreed. Some say the cause is overproduction, due to illegitimate speculation: others, overconsumption; that is, people have lived beyond their means, and retrenchment lessens the demand for commodities, and the result is stagnation.

Henry George says that land speculation is the true cause of industrial depression in the United States. Rodbertus, the eminent and conservative socialist, maintained that crises result from the fact that the laborer's share of all goods produced continually decreases. His theory made a profound impression. It is thus illustrated. Suppose all goods produced annually amount to a thousand units: the units may be anything—a horse or a house. These thousand units must be divided among four parties, landlords, capitalists, laborers, and the State. Landlords take three hundred; capitalists, three hundred; la-

¹ "Socialism" (Cook), p. 32.

borers, three hundred ; and the State, one hundred — total, one thousand. Now, if production increases there is no crisis so long as these proportions are maintained. Laborers have means to purchase what is produced for them. But the moment products increase, these proportions are not maintained ; laborers' proportionate share diminishes ; capitalists find their share increasing. It is not needed for consumption, and so new factories are built and more goods produced for workmen who cannot buy them ; goods are heaped up. Then comes a crash. During the season of depression society supports the poor, capitalists become relatively reduced, and surplus goods are consumed, and things get so far righted that business starts up again, but always in such a way as to handicap the laborers, for so many are seeking work that the employers can dictate wages.

Thus at both the beginning and the end of the crisis labor is fleeced by capital.

Such is the theory of Rodbertus, whom Professor Wagner of Berlin called the Ricardo of Socialism.

Such is the explanation of the International Working Peoples' Association, which declares that "the increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called business and commercial crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme."¹

Socialism declares that the evil is inherent in the capitalistic system. The mischief wrought by these crises, both to capital and labor and through them to all the interests of society, is appalling. When mills shut down and warehouses filled with goods are locked up ; when mines are idle, ships laid up, money stowed away in bank vaults, trades paralyzed, and multitudes of working men forced into idleness, to starve in the midst of plenty, or to recruit the ranks of vice and crime, it becomes a matter of the deepest concern, not only to political economy, but to the State and society generally.

We live in a feverish age. The highest premium is put on speed.

¹ "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 360.

If Shakespeare could say, in the sixteenth century,

"The spirit of the times should teach me speed,"

how shall we fitly characterize the period when steam and electricity are getting to be tediously slow? As the human pulse may be sent flying up to 120 by stimulants or mental excitement, so the industrial pulse, by the passion for wealth, or stimulus of speculation, may be forced to a point above its normal beat, and there for a time maintained; but the reaction must come, or destruction would ensue.

The crisis therefore is a blessing. The real panic, if we had eyes to see it, is not when the reaction comes, but when production is increasing, trade brisk, and business humming. Then is the time to contract credits, to sever the alliance with luxury, restrain pride and vanity, and apply the moral and economical fly-wheel to regulate the business pulse. The responsibility, however, for these disastrous crises rests primarily upon the present industrial system.

IX. — *Pauperism.*

"Pauperism accompanies progress; . . . to see human beings in the most abject, the most helpless and hopeless condition, you must go, not to the unfenced prairies and the log cabins of new clearings in the back woods . . . but to the great cities where the ownership of a little patch of ground is a fortune." — HENRY GEORGE.

One of the direst evils of human society is pauperism. It increases with civilization. It is this startling fact that inspired the title of Henry George's remarkable book, "Progress and Poverty," wherein he says, that as civilization progresses and wealth increases, poverty deepens. "Some get an infinitely better living, but others find it hard to get a living at all. The tramps come with the locomotive, and almshouses and prisons are as surely the marks of material progress as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches. Upon streets lighted with gas and patrolled by uniformed policemen, beggars wait for the passer-by, and in the shadow of college, and library, and museum, are gathering the more

hideous Huns and fierce Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied.¹

This is also the indictment of Socialism against the present system of industry. The International Working People's Association says, "The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which become pauperized and are driven to crime, vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is therefore necessary to totally destroy it." We are forced to admit that poverty and paupers increase with wealth and luxury. The explanation is to be found in the capitalistic system which has outgrown its social utility and become unjust and vicious.

Lazy and shiftless people always exist, but they need not be paupers. In primitive conditions of society, where all labor, pauperism is unknown. Any system wherein the prosperity of some necessarily involves the impoverishment of others is fearfully wrong somewhere.

Among the secondary causes of pauperism there are moral, educational, and religious considerations of great importance, but we are now concerned with the industrial causes, chief among which is enforced idleness. Ninety thousand in England, in the last half-year of 1860 were idle, while during the same period much machinery was standing idle for want of hands. The consequent suffering among the working classes caused Carlyle to exclaim, "Enforced idleness is the Englishman's hell."

During the year including May 1, 1885, out of a working force of 816,470 persons in Massachusetts, one-third were idle a little over four months, or about one-third of the year.² We have no means of knowing what proportion of this idleness was involuntary. Enforced idleness will not be endured to any great extent in a government of the people. When freemen whose daily bread depends upon

¹ "Progress and Poverty," p. 7.

² The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

their daily labor cannot get work, the fact has a deep and terrible significance.

Louis Blanc said, "In demanding that the right to live should be regulated, should be guaranteed, one does much more than demand that millions of unhappy beings should be rescued from the oppression of force or of chance; one embraces in its highest generalization, and in its most profound signification, the cause of humanity; one greets the Creator in his labor. Whenever the certainty of being able to live by one's labor does not result from the essence of social institutions iniquity reigns."

Cardinal Manning declared that a man who was willing to work but could not get work had a right to steal bread; and he cites an English statute which says that every one has "A right either to work, or to bread without work." But does not the law say, "Thou shalt not steal?" The laborer replies the command applies to the organized taking from laborers what they have earned, as well as to individual theft. If industry is so organized that of the two parties engaged in it, one, the employer, gets more than enough, and the other, the laborer, receives so little that he is hungry and naked, then he is robbed, and has a moral right to what justly belongs to him. If David was justified in taking unlawful shew bread to appease his hunger, his example would have weight with a Christian laborer starving in the presence of overflowing granaries. The well-to-do may have no fear of actual hunger and cold, wolves that constantly prowl around the doors of the poor: and yet the world's supply of food is so limited that a general failure of crops for a single season would bring frightful consequences.

"With machinery multiplying tenfold our powers of production and with rapid and cheap methods of transportation, we are always within twelve months of starvation. Let the world play for one year, and famine is king. We are actually living from hand to mouth, and the world's ceaseless toil is needed to keep its 1,400,000,000 alive."

The poorest paid, which constitute the great mass of laborers, are often haunted by the ghastly spectre of pau-

perism. In the reign of Henry VIII. seven thousand people were branded with a hot iron and hung for being poor. To assure the working poor that history repeats itself and then condemn them to involuntary idleness, is a dangerous proceeding. It suggests an explosion to be told that every twentieth inhabitant in England is a pauper.¹ In 1880 this country had an army of 67,067 paupers in its almshouses. There is reason to fear that the number has since largely increased. In 1866 one in every thirty-five of the foreign-born population of New York was a pauper. Pauperism is a standing menace to our free institutions, and multitudes continually stand in fear of it.

X. — *Class Legislation.*

"Legislation with regard to labor has almost always been class legislation. It is the effort of some dominant body to keep down a lower class."
— PROFESSOR W. STANLEY JEVONS.

Nothing in connection with the present industrial *régime* has so offended the great mass of laborers as Class Legislation discriminating in favor of capital and against labor.

Thorold Rogers, in his history of "Work and Wages" in England for six centuries, discloses a mass of legislation against labor that is simply iniquitous. The real but generally disguised object of these laws is to preserve the economical and social distinction of the dominant classes and to reduce working men to industrial slavery.

Professor Jevons quotes approvingly the statement of Brentano, "That all the statutes of the Middle Ages were framed with regard to the powers and wants of the landed proprietors and feudal lords," and he says of the famous Statute of Laborers that "It was simply a futile attempt to prevent labor from getting its proper price." And the great Statute of Apprentices was the "abomination of desolation" to labor. It allowed justices of the peace to fix all wages, and to tyrannize in the most shameful manner over laborers. It compelled every servant or artificer to work in the one trade to which he was accustomed. If he

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 57.

removed to another town for work without a testimonial from an employer, or officer, he was to be imprisoned, and if he could not obtain such testimonial within twenty days, he was to be whipped and treated as a vagabond.

From the middle of March to the middle of September, every workman was to be at work at or before five o'clock in the morning, and not depart until betwixt seven and eight at night.

Young women of twelve years and upwards could be put at work when and where the justice of the peace saw fit, at wages fixed by him, and if they refused they were imprisoned. The most merciful thing about the statute was, it so overshot the mark, that it could not be enforced, except its provisions as to apprenticeship, the evils of which have been incalculable.

This Statute of Apprentices, that has disgraced England for centuries, was not completely repealed until eighteen years ago. Still more unjust was the law forbidding combinations of working men "for improving wages, and reducing the hours of labor." What tyranny could be more galling than to forbid laborers peaceably meeting to discuss their own interests and at the same time encouraging combinations of capitalists? Although the repeal of this monstrous law in 1824 rendered labor unions legal, still the unjust discriminations in favor of employers continued to oppress laborers till their final emancipation in 1871.

We cannot wonder at the distrust and bitterness of laborers against capitalists and legislatures between which, as upper and nether millstones, they have been crushed and ground. Legislation has been as guilty in sins of omission as of commission.

Women and children of tender years have been put at tasks in a manner that disgraces civilization. Women formerly worked in English mines, "harnessed with cattle to loads of ore," as they even now are on the pit-banks and coke-hearths.¹

Children from nine to fifteen years of age have been kept

¹ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 52.

at work in factories from six in the morning till nine and twelve at night.

"In the agricultural districts of England gangs of children of all ages, from sixteen down to ten or even five years, have been formed and driven from farm to farm and from parish to parish, to work all day under strange overseers and to sleep at night in barns huddled all together, without distinction of sex."¹ Not till 1867 could Parliament be induced to interfere with such cruelty. Professor Ely says of child labor in England during the first half of this century, "It was little less than murder. Nay, I go further: I believe in the sight of Almighty God the cannibals of the Sandwich Islands were less guilty than those who, appreciating its terrors, knowingly, wilfully supported it; for it also was a species of cannibalism, slow but more cruel, for the flesh and blood of the little ones were devoured piece-meal. Yet it required the struggle of a generation to pass laws forbidding it, and nothing is more disgusting than the evasive, shifting, lying course of its chief opponents."²

The spirit of class legislation against labor crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower. In 1630, in the Massachusetts Colony, "it was ordered that carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers, and thatchers shall not take above two shillings a day."³ Employers, however, might get them for nothing if they could. But why enact laws to prohibit laborers from asking higher wages, and not prohibit employers from paying lower? It starts an honest man's blood to hear Adam Smith, one hundred and fifty years later, say, "We have no acts of Parliament against combining to lower the price of work; but many against combining to raise it." But immemorial custom blinds oppressors to their cruelty and the oppressed to their wrongs. Class legislation against labor proceeds upon the pagan principle that might makes right. This vicious legislation did not, however, find a congenial soil in the Western world. The tendency of American legislation

¹ *Idem*, p. 201.

² "The Labor Movement in America," p. 316.

³ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 305.

affecting capital and labor has been to favor the schemes of capital rather than to interfere directly with labor.

Enormous powers and privileges have been granted to capitalists, while until quite recently the policy of legislatures has been to let laborers shift for themselves. Socialism is a protest in behalf of women and children, crushed under the wheels of an industrial Juggernaut, and a demand that the old capitalistic chariot, with its idol Gold, shall give way to a more democratic and Christian vehicle, bearing the goddess of social Justice and Equity. It is a most hopeful sign of the times that several States, as well as the general government, are collecting labor statistics, appointing labor bureaus and arbitration committees, and passing laws to secure the individual rights of laborers.

XI. — *Spread of the Democratic Principle.*

"Can it be believed that Democracy, which has overthrown the feudal system and vanquished kings, will retreat before tradesmen and capitalists? Will it stop, now that it has grown so strong and its adversaries so weak?" — DE TOCQUEVILLE.

Another cause of Socialism is the Spread of the Democratic Principle. Political freedom is in the air, not only of America, but of the nineteenth century.

Russia, at the opening of the century, bought and sold human beings as cattle. The *Moscow Gazette* of 1801 advertises for sale three coachmen and two girls, eighteen and fifteen, good looking and capable. Referring to a house it says, "In this house one can buy a coachman and a Dutch cow."

A prominent woman killed by inhuman tortures nearly one hundred of her serfs, mostly girls. All this is changed. Within a generation Russia has freed sixty millions of serfs, extended to them civil rights, established trials by jury, and inaugurated many other reforms. True, certain forms of despotism remain, but the people, having tasted liberty, resist them by the desperate methods of nihilism.

Within twenty years Germany has taken a great stride toward democracy. In Prussia one vote of a rich man counted as much as fifteen of the poor. In 1871 universal suffrage was granted through the whole German Empire.

England has steadily advanced toward a democracy.

The present century has witnessed vast changes in the ideas of liberty and equality. "In 1815 are recorded thirty-nine instances of wives exposed to public sale, like cattle, at Smithfield." The life of a rabbit was of more value than that of a man. "As recently as the year 1819 no less than two hundred and twenty-three offences were punishable by death in England. If a man injured Westminster bridge he must be hanged. If he cut down a young tree not belonging to him he must be hanged. If he were found poaching at night or wrongfully killed a sheep, or shot a rabbit, or stole property valued at a dollar and a quarter or more, or appeared in disguise on the highway, or wrote a threatening letter for money, he must be hanged."¹

To-day the English sovereign is only a souvenir of the past, a political figure-head facing toward the stern of the ship of state. All political power is virtually in the hands of the people whose temper is thoroughly democratic.

But of all political gymnastics of the nineteenth century, the most remarkable have occurred in France. Setting out as an absolute monarchy, like the performer at a circus, she has at a single bound jumped over several political elephants, turned a complete somerset, and landed on her feet, a full-blown republic.

Even in the United States the democratic principle has so expanded that suffrage has been extended to the ignorant and vicious and those who have no property interests, to an extent that would have shocked even Jefferson, the father of democracy, who said that a qualified suffrage may succeed, provided the people are educated and foreigners excluded. We are now assured that the only civilized nation in the world that legalizes slavery is about to liberate her one million

¹ Rev. John Cuckson. *Springfield Republican*, February, 1892.

slaves. Thus the democratic principle has advanced, with rapid and gigantic strides, through the present century.

On the other hand, *industrial liberty* has been practically more and more curtailed by the introduction of machinery and the massing of capital, which has narrowed the sphere of the laborer and rendered him more dependent and helpless.

Here is the one secret of social disturbance: *political freedom in collision with industrial oppression*. A hand that is free to vote will not be manacled in work. Political forces tend to obliterate class distinctions. Industrial forces tend to emphasize them; hence the discord.

"Can it be believed," asks De Tocqueville, "that democracy, which has overthrown the feudal system and vanquished kings, will retreat before tradesmen and capitalists. Will it stop now that it has grown so strong and its adversaries so weak?"¹

Stahl and other Socialists have claimed that Socialism is a necessary corollary of democracy.² The German type of Socialism is known as social democracy. We may deny any logical connection between democracy and Socialism; but it is a fair question, which wise men of the East, and still wiser men of the West, are asking whether the people having acquired political, religious, and educational democracy, will not demand and obtain, at any cost, industrial democracy. The question must be answered in the affirmative.

The state, the church, the press, the platform, are coming daily into sympathy with the reasonable demands of wage-workers. The present system of corporate management, which is the most unqualified industrial despotism that can be conceived in a free State, may not have reached its climax, but the time is surely coming when laboring men will not be over-worked or under-fed; when they will be eligible to hold political office; when employers shall cease to feel above them and hold aloof from their society; when wealth will not dare to treat them contemptuously;

¹ As quoted in "Contemporary Socialism" (Rae), p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

and when they will feel as much at home in the city church as does the richest and most fastidious worshipper of to-day.

We believe this simply because we believe in Christianity and liberty. Not to believe it, is to be an infidel and a traitor. It is a social status demanded not only by political democracy, but by the democracy of the Gospel. It is a state in which unjust competition will be restrained, usurping trusts decapitated, soulless corporations regenerated, monopolies call upon the mountains to hide them, and gambling speculations ranked with murder.

XII. — *The Dissemination of Knowledge.*

"The great difference between the actual position of affairs and anything history shows us lies in the fact that the diffusion of Socialism is enormously favored by the press and by the schools. Education to all, even forced upon them, schools everywhere open, and cheap books, pamphlets, and newspapers spread throughout the country ideas of radical reform." — ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.

The general Dissemination of Knowledge has also contributed to the Socialist movement. Knowledge is power, because it detects the causes of failure and misfortune; it avoids mistakes, seizes upon opportunities, discovers advantages, exposes injustice, makes choice of worthy ends, selects appropriate means, utilizes forces, provides for contingencies, and thus reduces chance and risk to a minimum.

The few, because of superior knowledge, have always dominated over the many; but as the many become intelligent, they become independent. To *know* more means to *be and to have* more. Mark the progress of knowledge among the nations during the present century. Alexander II. established 22,000 elementary common schools in Russia. Of all his numerous reforms none was more far-reaching, or more revolutionary in its results, one of which is the present irrepressible demand of the people for equal rights.

Italy has made elementary education compulsory. In 1872 she had 22 universities and 43,380 public and private schools.

Germany has 20 universities, a large number of smaller

institutions of learning, and 60,000 public primary schools, upon which attendance is compulsory at least for five years.

France has 236 commercial colleges, besides many private institutions, and about 70,000 schools for primary instruction.

In 1870 Great Britain adopted a national system of education, established schools in every district proportionate to population, making attendance compulsory. The result has been marvellous. In 20 years the attendance in schools increased from 531,000 to 3,560,000. The number of adults who could read and write increased from 1840 to 1870, 35 per cent. In 1840 children who attended school were only 9 per cent of the population; in 1850, 12 per cent; in 1877, 17 per cent. In 1840 the number of children attending the public schools (which are for the children of the working classes) was 1 in 57 of the population; in 1877, 1 in 9.¹

Contrast this result in general intelligence with the fact that of the 26 barons who signed the Magna Charta only three could write their names (the others made their mark), and we get an idea of the progress of education in England.

Spain, bigoted and benighted, has not been able to arrest the progress of knowledge. In 1852, out of a population of 16,000,000, not 2,000,000, were able to read and only one person in fifteen could write. In 1845 public schools were established and have since been fostered by the government, till in 1867 there were 26,332 public schools, numerous academies, and ten universities.

The progress of knowledge in the United States may be estimated when it is realized what is implied in the statement frequently made, that the boy fitted for college to-day is as far advanced as the college graduate of the early part of this century.

We have 357 colleges and universities, containing 75,333 students. The enormous sum of \$3,675,000 was given to 42 American colleges during the year 1889. We have an enrolment of more than 12,000,000 children in our common schools which dot the land as the stars stud the heavens.

¹ Mulhall's "Progress of the World," p. 167.

These schools are under the supervision of 400,000 teachers, superintendents, and school officers.

The total expenditures for educational purposes, during the year ending June 30, 1888, was \$122,455,000. The United States has donated 79,000,000 acres for education, which, at \$5 per acre, would yield the enormous sum of \$395,000,000 as a permanent fund for the support of schools, colleges, and universities.

The higher education of women is not only peculiar to this age, but most potential in its results upon society. The same may be said of the public libraries and the press by which the people are being educated as never before.

In the year 1889 there were in the United States and Canada 17,107 newspapers and periodicals, a gain over the previous year of 797. The number of papers printed weekly in 1890 in the United States and Canada was 23,228,750, which would give two copies to every family in the country. During the same year more than 6,653,250 copies of daily papers were issued. This is a truly wonderful record. No man can estimate the mighty power of the press. It is a power developed almost within the memory of man. "Within 150 years a book was bequeathed as an invaluable legacy, and, if given to a religious house, was offered on the altar and deemed a gift worthy of salvation, and when a prelate borrowed a Bible his cathedral gave a bond for its return. Libraries then consisted of a few tracts chained or kept in chests. The famous Library of Oxford, celebrated by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, contained only 600 volumes."¹ The prodigious increase of books in this century has given us a new world. We have literally reached the point where to the making of many books there is no end.

Let it be observed that this Dissemination of Knowledge corresponds in its extent to the complaint of labor and to socialistic ideas. This relation is clearly not accidental, but causal. The moment you educate a man, that moment you increase his wants. Man is differentiated from the brute by the multiplication of his wants as his faculties

¹ "Harper's Magazine," vol. iii. p. 423.

and powers develop. The wants of the brute are stationary. The mature and most highly developed horse has not a single want that he did not have as a colt.

Popular education has civilized and refined the masses. Their social, mental, and moral horizon has been enlarged. The moral standard is raised; a higher and truer sense of right and justice prevails. Along with this development new desires are awakened and new wants created, so that with the increase of wealth, what was deemed a luxury a hundred years ago is felt to be a necessity to-day. But while education has developed wants, the industrial system has failed to supply them *pari passu*, hence the social friction. One of two alternatives is necessary: either cease to educate the people, or supply the wants created by education by a more equal distribution of wealth. It is futile to attempt to stay the progress of the age, and to return to the slow and rude methods of primitive ages. We could not do it if we would, and we would not if we could. The hand of human destiny points forward rather than backward. The condition of the world, the great interests of the race, religion, government, and knowledge, all point, not backward to the beginning, but forward to the consummation of all things.

XIII. — *The Decay of Religion.*

"The proletarians have been detached from, and will return to, Christianity, when they begin to understand that it brings to them freedom and equal rights . . . By a complete misapplication of its ideas, the religion of Christ, transformed into a temporal and sacerdotal institution, has been called in as the ally of caste, despotism, and the ancient *régime* to sanction all social inequalities." — ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.

Among the causes of Socialism, and the last we shall mention, is the Decay of Religion.

Roscher, in his masterly summary of the causes of Socialism, places above all others the "general decay of religion and morality in the people." The widest survey of Christianity will show vast progress during the present century; but the gain has been largely confined to *classes*

and localities. While the middle classes remain loyal, the rich and cultured and the proletariat of England and the corresponding class of wage-workers in America have become to an alarming extent alienated from religion. The distinguished author of "Contemporary Socialism" says, "Religious faith, particularly among the educated and the working classes, is on the decline."¹

Roscher uses these significant and solemn words: "When every one regards wealth as a sacred trust or office coming from God, and poverty as a divine dispensation, intended to educate and develop those afflicted thereby, and considers all men as brothers and this earthly life only as a preparation for eternity, even extreme differences of property lose their irritating and demoralizing power. On the other hand, the atheist or materialist becomes only too readily a mammonist, and the poor mammonist falls only too readily into that despair which would gladly kindle a universal conflagration in order either to plunder or lose his own life."²

* Working men regard the church as mocking them. They claim that they are not treated as brothers, but rather as slaves, and religion seeks to reconcile them to their lot. The church is insincere. She has two standards — the ideal and the actual. The ideal is Christian, the actual is a travesty of the teachings of Christ. For example, while the church *preaches* that God hath chosen the *poor* of this world, she deliberately *chooses* the *rich*; while she preaches that he who will not work neither shall he eat, she is continually fawning upon those who *eat and do not work*; while she preaches that God is no respecter of persons, she seats her congregations *according to wealth*; and the wine and milk of the pews, so far from being without price, are sold at a *premium*.

Where is the rich city church that ushers the man in vile raiment down the broad aisle? The church preaches that we should be clothed with humility rather than with outward adorning, and yet it is notorious that church-goers dress so richly that the poor man and his family cannot

¹ Introductory, p. 27.

² As quoted in "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 224.

by any possibility appear in church except in raiment that presents a humiliating contrast and places them at a social disadvantage. The Master asks, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God?"¹ The church asks "How hardly shall a *poor man* enter into the kingdom of God?"

We are not now concerned with the truth or falsity of these charges, but simply with the fact that masses of working men believe them to be true, and suffer the deplorable consequences. That they should lose faith in a church regarded as false to the spirit of Christ will not excite our wonder; indeed, that they should be led to repudiate the church and denounce all religion is perfectly natural. Such sentiments as the following are frequently met with: "Heaven is a dream invented by robbers to distract the attention of the victims of their brigandage;" "When the laboring men understand that the heaven which they are promised hereafter is but a mirage, they will knock at the door of the wealthy robber with a musket in hand, and demand their share of the goods of this life now." . . . "Religion, authority, and state are all carved out of the same piece of wood. To the devil with them all!"²

Are these utterances regarded as the ravings of infidels and fanatics? Listen, then, to the indictment of conservative leaders in the churches. "They form an alliance with the devil of mammonism. The church has forgotten her mission" (R. T. Ely). "Let the church see to it that her mouth is not stopped by gags of gold" (Hon. Seth Lowe). "The church is shackled with Pharisees" (Simon J. McPherson, D.D.). "From all the paralyzing cant of an unfelt devotion: from all the God-defying hypocrisy of an uplifted voice and down-hanging arm: from all the miserable mummary of a grand external ritual and a selfish, un-Christ-like daily life, good Lord deliver us! The only thing that Christianity wants just now is Christians" (Canon Wilberforce).

"The rich are robbers; a kind of Christianity must be

¹ Mark x. 23.

² "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 243.

effected by making gifts out of their abundance. Better all things were in common" (St. Chrysostom). We could multiply similar utterances by the foremost men in the church to-day. Let us therefore be charitable towards the suffering masses who echo in despairing and disloyal tones their charges.

No piling up of charities by the church while she sanctions injustice will win back the people. Their self-respect spurns to receive as beggars that to which they are entitled as men. A select, cold-eyed, proxy Christianity must be put away. Dear-bought experience has taught us that the masses will never be reached by a long pole with a purse-proud, caste-adoring saint at one end, and a barrel of old clothing or a soup-house chapel at the other. Working men often hearing in their assemblies the faithlessness and hypocrisy of the church bitterly denounced, go home and rehearse these sentiments to their wives and children, and thus the seeds of irreligion are sown in a soil but too well prepared by conditions of poverty to receive them. Shall the Christian church be indifferent or silent before these charges which are becoming the creed of multitudes? Herein also lies the greatest danger to liberty.

De Tocqueville says, "That the passion for material well being has no check in a democratic community except religion, and if religion were to decline, and the pursuit of comfort undoubtedly impairs it, then liberty would perish." Nothing but the preaching and the practising of "pure and undefiled religion" can save this Republic from religious and political anarchy.

France first banished God, then plunged into social revolution. Russia, with a minimum of Christianity, has a history of Nihilism written in blood. Not until Germany substituted a speculative for an evangelistic Christianity and religion had lost its hold upon the masses, could even the burning eloquence of Lasselle arouse German laborers to organize for protection.

A purified Christianity would at the present state of social development give a powerful impulse to Socialistic ideas.

If Socialism, which is applied Christianity, is gaining rapidly in England and the United States, one reason is that these countries have held more closely to Christ and his gospel in its purity and simplicity, and the departure from these standards which capitalism threatens is more quickly resented.

We have now offered thirteen causes which, in varying degrees, have produced Socialism. Some of them may not be operative everywhere and all may not be operative anywhere. It may be seen also that the causes are not merely economical, but political, social, and moral. Socialism is a complex movement. Starting from industrial tyranny, it soon discovers that all existing social institutions are connected with, if not tributaries to, the oppression; hence, as the movement develops and formulates its principles, it leaves no phase of human life untouched.

CHAPTER III

THE FIVE POSTULATES OF SOCIALISM

I. — Labor is the Source of all Value.

"Those who labor in reality feed both the pensioners (the rich) and themselves." — EDMUND BURKE.

RODBERTUS, regarded by some as the father of German Socialism, announced this fundamental principle: "All economic goods are to be regarded only as the product of labor, and they cost nothing but labor."

Marx and Lasselle, and indeed all Socialists, substantially agree with Rodbertus. This principle is of the utmost importance. It is the economic and moral basis of Socialism, and the fundamental fact on which any science of political economy worthy the name must build, and the essential condition of all correct ideas of industrial society. Are Socialists right? Capitalistic writers maintain that they are not. We propose, by a few brief but self-evident propositions, to clear away the traditional cant, speculative and economic rubbish, which have been employed in the interest of capitalism, to bury this truth out of sight. But first let us define our terms. What do we mean by Labor and Value?

The term labor as employed by Socialists, includes *all socially useful exertion, manual, mental, and moral*. Socialists do not limit the term labor to manual- or wage-labor, as is often falsely assumed by their opponents. Manual laborers, however, constitute by far the larger number of social workers, and are the greatest sufferers from the unequal distribution of wealth.

Socialists appreciate the *entrepreneur* function which the advocates of partial co-operation have sought to dispense with.

Inventors who increase productivity many fold, scientists who utilize the forces of nature, teachers who impart instruction, lawyers who assist the people in maintaining their rights, judges who administer the laws, officers who execute them, merchants and common carriers who facilitate exchange, physicians who preserve health and life, scholars who stimulate thought, and statesmen who conserve just principles of government, are all laborers together in the production of economic value.

Moral labor is an equally important factor in creating value. Ministers of religion constitute a class of laborers whose influence is felt throughout the entire industrial organism. Froude says, "All that we call modern civilization, in a sense which deserves the name, is the visible expression of the transforming power of the gospel." Honesty, confidence, credit, commercial honor, the inviolability of contracts, and the sanctity of oaths, are moral forces having their sanction in religion and without which all healthy industrial life and progress are impossible.

Mental and moral laborers are often among the hardest worked of any members of the social body. John Ericsson has worked eighty-four hours per week, or fourteen hours per day for thirty years, scarcely losing a day. He sleeps where he works, accepts no invitations, receives no visitors except on business, and practises the most rigid rules of diet and sleep.

We are acquainted with many wage-workers and professional men; and the hardest worked man among them all is a Christian minister, and the next is a school superintendent: they have the most hours for work, the fewest for sleep, and the least for recreation, with hardly a wakeful moment they can call their own. There are working men who, from sheer ignorance, regard brain-workers as idlers. A man once said to the writer at the close of the Sunday morning service, after having written during the week two sermons and attended three funerals, one of which was held in the church, a discourse having been especially prepared, "That was a powerful sermon, *but what do you do week-days?*" This man, however, was not

a Socialist but an individualist. It is misleading and dishonest to represent as Socialists all wage-workers who decry the professional classes, even if Socialists have indulged in such folly.

The miner who formerly toiled in darkness and danger owes to the patient thought of Sir Humphry Davy his safety-lamp. Workers on electrical wires and mechanics owe their employment to Franklin and other students of nature. You say that Von Moltke won Sedan; but think again and you will say that it was Krupp who invented the big guns. Let it be remembered also that the highest scientific authority assures us that *three* hours of severe mental is equal to *ten* hours of ordinary manual labor.

Let all bodies of wage-workers, therefore, cease from their criticism and abuse of mental and moral workers. It causes ill-will and hatred and hinders reform to characterize them as "social vampires," fattening upon the toil of others, and as a class that ought to be eliminated from society. This would be as if a ship's crew should cast away its anchor, rudder, compass, sails, and oars, and pitch the captain and mate overboard as superfluous encumbrances, hoping thus to lighten its labors and facilitate navigation.

Socialists, then, in saying that labor is the source of all value, include in the term labor all manual, mental, and moral labor.

The professional classes of laborers, however, are not the sufferers under competition. Manual laborers are the oppressed. They constitute the great majority. "Of the 80,000,000 English-speaking people three-fourths, probably two-thirds, certainly subsist on wages," and "manual labor is the essential condition of all production of wealth."¹ For these reasons, therefore, we generally intend wage-workers by the term laborers.

What is meant by the term *value*? Economists agree that value denotes utility; and they distinguish two kinds of utilities, such as are free to all and therefore not articles of merchandize, and such as are bought and sold. The

¹ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 217.

former are called *values in use*, the latter *values in exchange*. Water has the highest utility or value in use, but will exchange for nothing, hence has no exchange value. McCulloch says, "An article may be possessed of the highest degree of utility, or power to minister to our wants and enjoyments, and may be universally made use of without possessing *exchangeable value*." Political economy, however, has little concern with value in use. *Value in exchange*, on the other hand, constitutes the subject matter of the science. Value in exchange is the utility or worth of goods, wares, and commodities of all descriptions, also of houses, lands, mines, mills, and all objects of property, which are the subject of trade or exchange. We include land because, though not made by man, it has no utility or value except such as is created by the movements of human society; that is, at a distance from society it is worth nothing. Land also is private property, and is bought and sold like commodities. When, therefore, we employ the term value, we mean whatever is the subject of merchandise as an economic good.

We have defined our terms. We now proceed to show that Labor is the Source of all Value.

1. This principle is laid down by Adam Smith, and confirmed by Ricardo, McCulloch, Mills, the leading economists of Germany, France, and America, in fact, by nearly all political economists who have claim to consideration. Smith says, "The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it . . . is equal to the quantity of labor which it enables him to purchase or command." Labor, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities. . . . Labor was the first price paid, the original purchase money that was paid for all things. It was not by gold or by silver, but by labor, that all the wealth in the world was originally purchased."¹

McCulloch says, "The cost or value of all freely produced commodities, the supply of which may be indefinitely increased (abstracting from temporary variations of supply and demand), depends wholly on the quantity of labor

¹ "The Wealth of Nations" (Rogers' Edition), vol. I. p. 30.

required for their production, and not upon the rate at which that labor may be paid. . . . This is the fundamental theorem of the science of value, and the clew which unravels the intricate labyrinth of the laws which regulate the distribution of wealth."¹

Quotations can be multiplied showing that the ablest economists laid down the fundamental and self-evident principle that Labor is the Source of all Value.

2. Take any commodity, any article of merchandise whatever, and what is there in it but labor? My eye rests upon a stove. What part of that stove sprang from any other source than labor? I take my watch in my hand; I examine its different parts, and I can find nothing of all the minute parts of which it is composed that is not the fruit of labor alone. The same is true of all exchangeable utilities or values whatever.

No argument is necessary to prove this; its truth is apparent to a child. It is therefore a self-evident proposition, that Labor is the Source of all Value.

3. But it may be asked, is not capital a factor in production, especially in modern industry where labor and capital are brought together in the great manufacturing plant?

What is capital? The shovel or hoe of the laborer; that is, capital is property used by labor in producing value. No one can add or subtract from this simple idea of capital. The simplest mind can apprehend it; the most profound can only confuse it.

Money is not necessarily capital.

Suppose Robinson Crusoe to have had a bank-note in his possession: he could not eat, drink, or wear it; he could not make any use of it in raising corn, catching fish, or producing clothing; it is absolutely worthless to him. On the other hand, a hoe or a shovel, or even a sharpened stick, is useful in gaining food and clothing. These, therefore, are capital, while the bank-note is nothing. Only when other people appear on the island, and Crusoe and the others wish to exchange commodities for convenience' sake, will the bank-note be thought of, and then not as having value itself, but only as a thing that represents articles of value.

It is a medium of exchange. It saves, in trade, the actual and troublesome handling of merchandise. Money as such, therefore, is not capital, and no headway can be made in the study of the principles of economy till we are able to forget that there is such a thing as money. Capital is a tool: it is a hoe, a machine, a building, wool or leather, or any article *used* or *transmuted* by labor in producing other articles of value.

Now, it is evident that such tool and raw material used by the laborer are not a source of value. All the tools in the world could not produce a pin or a potato. A machine can produce nothing at all. If machinery is a source of value, if it can *produce* anything, let it do so, and let the laborer have a rest. Thus we have only to imagine capital trying to produce the slightest value to see the absurdity of the *dictum*, that capital is a *factor*, a *doer* in the production of value. Labor, on the other hand, without the aid of capital, can produce value.

Mr. Rae, in criticising Marx's theory of value, is led to say that "labor by itself is as unproductive as capital by itself."¹ This is a remarkable assertion. "Capital by itself" is dead and utterly unproductive; whereas "labor by itself" is alive and productive.

Were it otherwise, capital, not even in the most primitive forms, could have come into existence. "Labor by itself is as unproductive as capital by itself!" How strange and weird the effect of capitalism on the minds of its votaries! The falsism is continually echoed from the mammon-addled brains of capitalistic writers. A learned divine says in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," "Perhaps the sole producer is *capital employing* machinery *plus* material *plus* labor."² Here capital employs labor; the creature the creator! He has said before that capital is "ten shillings," or a "pair of shoes." The shoes therefore employ the owner: he does not use the shoes; the shoes use him! I do not employ my horse and hoe (capital), but they employ

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 149.

² January, 1892.

me! The man exists for the machine, and not the machine for the man. This is capitalism. It is also brutalism, and, when indorsed by Christian ministers, leads us to exclaim, —

“O Judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason.”

Capital is used by labor in production, and is transferred to the products. Raw material, wear and tear of machinery and buildings, and all other expenditures or depreciations of capital employed in business, are always, consciously or unconsciously, reduced to labor, transferred to the product, and help determine its value.

4. To say that capital *is used* in producing value is a truism. To say that it is a source, that it is the origin, spring, or beginning of value, is manifestly false. Labor alone is the source. Labor makes use of capital: it makes use also of air and water, sight and hearing, and other senses as helps, but not as co-ordinate helpers, in the creation of value.

5. Capital is value. No one will dispute this. To say, therefore, that capital is a source of value is equivalent to saying that value is a source of value.

6. All capital is produced by labor as the source. Mr. Mill says, “Capital is itself a product of labor.” This again is self-evident. If capital is produced by labor, then labor is the *creator*, and *capital* the *creature*. The creator, not the creature, is the source. Capital is used by its creator, *labor*, as a *means*; it may be called a secondary cause, just as gravitation is a secondary cause, God being the first cause. Second causes, however, must be subject to first causes. If gravitation should lift up its head and deny its Lord, or assume to be king, what would happen? Anarchy and destruction. So when capital denies labor as its creator and lord, there is confusion, chaos, and war.

Let capital take its place at the feet of labor, and all would be well. It is because capital says to labor, “I am greater than thou,” because capital lords it over labor, that hatred and strife are engendered. If my hoe or my horse (capital) should set up over me, if my hoe should acquire

the faculty of appropriating to itself every second row of corn, and my horse of appropriating one-half of all the produce he drew, I would cremate that hoe and horse before the sun went down, and advocate any lawful measure looking to a general reform of hoes and horses of this character.

7. Not only is this first Postulate of Socialism, that Labor is the Source of all Value, the first elementary principle of political economy, as laid down by its ablest writers, and a self-evident truth, but it was never *denied till it became necessary for capitalism to find an excuse for the exploitation of labor.*

The doctrine in its simplicity was stated by Smith and Ricardo, when no prejudices existed to warp their judgments, and was everywhere accepted as truth, till, in the evolution of the capitalistic system of industry, capital, in the shape of land and other means of production, was monopolized by the few to the great wrong and misery of wage-workers, and Socialism raised the cry of distress and reform, planting itself squarely on the accepted teachings of the current economy. Then Bastiat, the champion of capitalism and the avowed enemy of Socialism, rose up and declared that capital should be let alone, competition should be absolutely free, there should be a free fight in an open industrial field, the big man should be pitted against the little man, and the strong, wise, and cunning against the weak, ignorant, and innocent. This he claimed would produce harmony. Social "interests, left to themselves, tend to harmonious combinations." "Harmonious!" About as harmonious as the dulcet tones of bulls and bears. Society has listened to the music till it is distracted.

Socialists do not complain of capital as such, much less do they blame capitalists who, in the industrial struggle, are no more to blame for coming out at the top than wage-workers for coming out at the bottom. It is the fight, the unequal and cruel war made necessary by the present system, the principles of which are *capital, competition, and contract, free and individual*, that Socialism opposes.

These principles, owing largely to the modern complex organization of industry, have become vicious in their

operation by enriching the few and oppressing the many. Socialism, believing that these things must inevitably go from bad to worse under the *régime* of private capital, would have capital socialized, so far at least as is necessary to counteract the evils inherent in capitalism.

If now it be asked should not private capital employed in production share in the distribution? We answer, under capitalism, where industry is a great grab game, and every man must grab or die, yes. How much should capital receive? All it can get. Should it secure the laborer at the lowest possible wages, even though he suffer? Yes. Should it pay the farmer six and one-half cents per pound for cotton which cost him seven to raise, even though it ruined the farmer by the operation? Yes. Why should capital do all these and a hundred other wicked things? Because it *must* under capitalism, or run the risk of ruin itself. We frankly admit that private capital must do what it does do, what all justify it in doing under the present disgraceful, root-hog-or-die system of industry. It is because we deplore these evils necessary to private capital that we would abolish it.

We have seen that Labor is the Source of all Value, and that capital itself is produced by labor, being in a sense only labor stored up, or congealed labor, or, as Marx says, a form of "crystallized labor."

Professor William S. Sumner, an opponent of Socialism, says "Capital is force, human energy stored or accumulated."¹ The question naturally arises, how shall we estimate this value?

If labor is the source of value, it must form the basis of the measure of value; that is, a commodity is worth the labor of making it. What are we to include in this labor? Let us have a clear idea of this term. There are many kinds and qualities of labor. Labor is manual, mental, and moral; and these again admit of various kinds and degrees. How, then, can we estimate this labor, which assumes the form of a commodity and measures its value? In the first place, consider that labor is a social factor; it is not, in

¹ "Social Classes," etc., p. 162.

society, an *individual* but a *collective* thing. Exchange values with which we have to do show that, for the most part, we eat the fruit of others' labor and others eat the fruit of our labor. It follows, that the labor that measures value is not *concrete* but *abstract* labor; that is, it is not the labor of one man in the production of a commodity that measures its value, but the *average amount of labor required to produce it*. In other words, it is the *socially necessary labor* that is the measure of value.

If the special labor of an individual measured value, we should have as many prices or values for a given commodity as there are workmen producing it, since no two would put exactly equal quantities of labor into it. It is not therefore individual but *social* labor that determines value. Neither may the social labor be subject to the limitations of particular commodities, but it must be general and coextensive with the entire field of exchange. It is therefore *average social* labor that determines value. This social labor is abstract as distinguished from concrete labor. Individual labor, then, does not determine value. A farmer expects to receive for his potatoes, not what they cost *him* under his particular conditions of cultivation, but what all others receive; that is, what farmers *generally* are getting; he finds that his individual, concrete labor does not measure the value of his potatoes, but the average social labor of all farmers who raise potatoes. This is abstract or social labor. Now, as intimated, there are many kinds and degrees of social labor, and so complex and highly organized is modern industry that all kinds of labor are expressed in any given commodity. A potato or a yard of cloth is the embodiment of many kinds of manual, mental, and moral labor. Behind a yard of cloth is a college, a scientific school, a church, a government, civil laws, machine shops, railroads, farms, mines, and mills. This yard of cloth has come directly or indirectly into contact with all these factors, and the labor of each, in some however remote degree, has entered into it. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the labor which measures its value is not individual but social labor, not

concrete but abstract labor. Marx aptly calls it "*undifferentiated human labor*."

The most adequate and simplest expression is socially necessary labor. We now advance a step farther and ask *how shall we get at* socially necessary labor; that is, how estimate it so as to ascertain exactly what it is that goes into a commodity? Shall we say the labor is so much or of such a kind, that is, shall we estimate by quantity, or quality? The answer is by quantity.

Ricardo says, "The value of a commodity . . . depends on the relative quantity of labor which is necessary for its production."¹

It is then the quantity of socially necessary labor that measures value. There can be no other possible and scientific answer. We proceed, therefore, to another question of vast importance in this discussion. How shall we estimate this quantity of labor that goes into a commodity and determines its value? Shall we estimate it by the pound or yard, or in denominations of money, or by time? To speak of a pound or yard of labor would be a solecism; to speak of a dollar's worth of labor, as is often done, clearly involves a *petitio principii*; that is, it assumes as ascertained that for which we are seeking. There remains, then, but one answer. By quantity, when applied to labor, must be understood *time of labor*. Marx says, "The quantity of labor, however, is measured by its duration, and labor-time, in its turn, finds its standard in weeks, days, and hours:"² and again, "We see, then, that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor-time socially necessary, for its production. . . . Commodities, therefore, in which equal quantities of labor are embodied or which can be produced in the same time, have the same value. The value of one commodity is to the value of any other as the labor-time necessary for the production of the other. 'As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labor-time.'"³

Nine people out of ten who read this will exclaim, how

¹ "Ricardo's Works" (McCulloch), p. 9.

"Capital," p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

absurd to make ten hours of labor-time of the superintendent of a great mill only equal ten hours of the cheapest operative! Of course this is absurd; nothing of the kind is said. It is *abstract* labor-time, not *concrete* labor-time, that is compared. Labor of all kinds and degrees must be reduced to abstract labor-time before comparison can be made or values measured. The reduction of the different kinds of concrete labor, skilled and unskilled, mental and manual, to abstract labor-time, and the resolving a commodity into this simple, single element, are going on all the while. Value in exchange is the result of these processes of reduction, and, indeed, could have no existence without them. Marx has done incomparably more than any other writer to reduce them to scientific analysis.

By this reduction the labor of a judge as well as the labor of a hod-carrier can be expressed in units of simple abstract labor-time.

Of these units twenty might represent the value of an hour's labor by the judge, and four of an hour's labor by the hod-carrier. It is not for a moment to be supposed that all the concrete kinds of individual labor that have entered into a commodity are to be put on a par as to quantity, time, value, or anything else.

All these elements of concrete labor are reduced to abstract labor and expressed in units of abstract labor-time; and this becomes the only possible and scientific measure of value.

Endless confusion has resulted from the failure to distinguish between these two sorts of labor. What Marx alleges to be true only of abstract labor his opponents represent as predicated of concrete labor. The different kinds of concrete labor have different values; but the units of abstract labor-time have equal values. The sum total of these units required to produce any commodity constitutes the amount of abstract labor it embodies, and is the exact measure of its value. In reply to Marx, Mr. Rae denies that labor-time is the only measure of value; it is such only in certain cases, in other cases the measure is social utility. He says "Value is not constituted by time of labor

alone, except in the case of commodities admitting of indefinite multiplication; in all other cases it depends on social utility."¹ Among these other cases he mentions railway chairmen, etc. The reason, he says, why railway chairmen and judges receive more than porters and policemen, is because the work of the former is of superior quality, and possesses more "social utility." This is true but irrelevant. The question is not one of comparison between different "social utilities" or values at all, but of the measure of all such utilities. To say that the measure of a certain class of social utilities is labor-time, and the measure of another class of social utilities is "social utility," is ridiculous. Yet this is precisely what Mr. Rae does. He says, "Value is constituted in every object by its possession of two characteristics: first, that it is socially useful; second, that it costs some labor or trouble to procure it."² He has already said that the socially useful element itself is *value*. His statement, therefore, is that value is constituted, first, by value, second, by labor. This is another absurdity. The argument on which Mr. Rae relies to disprove that abstract labor-time is the only measure of value, is based on his assertion that this is true only "of commodities admitting of indefinite multiplication; in all other cases it depends on 'social utility.'" This position is unsound for several reasons.

1. It erects a double measure of economic value,—time of labor and "social utility." Such a double standard can furnish no scientific basis of a self-consistent system of political economy.

2. It confounds *labor* with the *product* of labor, *measure* of value with *value*, *concrete* labor with *abstract* labor, and thus renders clear thought impossible.

3. All kinds of labor, manual, mental, and moral, are now estimated by quantity on a time basis and remunerated accordingly.

It is not, however, the quantity of concrete labor in a given case, but of social labor, that is of abstract undifferentiated or socially necessary labor. Quality of labor is considered,

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 357.

² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

though, not as *quality*, but as *quantity* to which it is reduced ; for example, a fine watch may represent fifty days of concrete skilled labor and one hundred and twenty days of abstract labor. The watchmaker has toiled years for almost nothing to acquire his skill; his skill, therefore, ought to receive such reward as would cover the unremunerative period. The fifty days of the watchmaker, therefore, will exchange for perhaps seventy-five of a mechanic. Suppose the watchmaker's fifty days and the mechanic's seventy-five days each equalled one hundred and twenty days of abstract labor-time ; then the mechanic would give seventy-five days concrete labor for the watch which cost its skilled maker fifty days concrete labor. The same law governs in the case of the judge and the policeman. Many years of unrewarded labor and large sums of money were expended before the judge could begin his work. A day's labor, therefore, of the judge might equal several of the policeman, when both were reduced to abstract labor-time.

Ricardo says, "I am not inattentive to the difficulty of comparing one hour's labor in one employment with the same duration of labor in another. But the estimation of different qualities of labor comes soon to be adjusted in the market with sufficient precision for all practical purposes."¹

That this is the only scientific law of the measure of value in a highly organized society cannot be disputed. The reasonableness of this rule is seen in the fact that the element of *time is the only common factor* to all kinds of labor. Different kinds of labor could not be compared or proportioned to each other were it not for this common factor. These can all be reduced to units of simple social labor-time, and the value of any labor whatever will depend upon the number of these units it contains.

4. No line can be drawn between "commodities admitting of indefinite multiplication" and other commodities. "Organizers" of labor, "railroad chairmen" (for such in capitalism are commodities) can be multiplied indefinitely. The United States can now supply enough for a dozen

¹ Ricardo's Works (McCulloch), p. 15:

worlds, and as for judges and lawyers, it has over 75,000; the market is glutted, and according to its ablest representatives a crisis is threatened unless we stop producing them.

5. Admitting that there are values not measured by labor-time, as Mr. Rae claims, they are so rare and non-essential as to *have no appreciable bearing on this subject*. The commodities that can be indefinitely multiplied are the only ones we need concern ourselves about.

The value of these, Mr. Rae admits, is measured by labor-time. Why, then, drag in a foreign consideration? These commodities embrace food, clothing, shelter, books, indeed, all the necessities, comforts, conveniences, and luxuries essential to the health and happiness of body or mind. Working men have never demanded anything more. The struggle between labor and capital concerns nothing else.

We have now seen that this first Postulate of Socialism, that *Labor is the Source of all Value*, rests on a solid foundation. Several important corollaries have been derived from this truth.

1. All kinds of labor, manual, mental, or moral, in all their varieties and degrees can be, and in fact are, reduced to units of abstract social labor-time.

2. This social labor-time is the only scientific measure of economic value.

3. Capital, which is property or value used by labor in production, is itself a form of labor. It is labor stored up, coagulated, or crystallized.

The present system allows this form of labor (capital) to accumulate in the hands of a few and dominate over and rob the many.

It enables rich employers and their families to put on superior clothes and airs, to live in idleness and roll in luxury, while the employee and his family are suffering for the necessities of life.

Here is the real root of bitterness between labor and capital. The sense of injustice is intensified by the feeling that is everywhere gaining ground and finding expression, and which is indeed indisputably true, that it is the social,

humane, and religious duty of all men and women, whether rich or poor, to engage in some useful work, manual, mental, or moral, as God has given them strength. Any other conception of life is low, materialistic, false, and Godless. Work is the law of earth, rest is the law of Heaven, idleness is the law of hell.

It was doubtless this unjust and wicked inequality in society that led John Bright to say in an assembly of working men, "Just now, as I was on my way to this place to speak to you, I watched in the street a magnificent carriage pass me; and in that carriage were two splendidly dressed ladies. Who made that carriage? You did. Who made those splendid dresses? You did. Have your wives any such carriages to drive in? Do your wives ever wear clothes of this kind? I watched that carriage farther, and I saw where it stopped. It stopped before a stately house with an imposing portico. Who built that house? You did. Do you and your wives live in any such houses as that?" These words were greeted with tumultuous applause.

An eminent American divine, Dr. A. J. F. Behrends, in his candid but inconclusive work on this general subject, says of this language, "Here again is Marx's doctrine that capital is the spoliation of labor, and Proudhon's maxim that property is theft. Let these utterances take shape in the platform of a great political party, and, under a suffrage sufficiently extended, the ballot-box might introduce a revolution whose mischief imagination cannot picture."¹

The "mischief" of the ballot-box in this case consists in breaking down monopoly, overthrowing industrial tyranny, causing a more equal distribution of wealth, banishing enforced idleness and pauperism, and putting an end to ninety per cent of all drunkenness and crime. This is the "Mischief that imagination cannot picture."

It would further deprive the strong of the natural right of oppressing his weaker brother, and of eating the bread earned by the sweat of another's brow; it would bring untold distress upon capitalists and employers, simply because they could no longer pile up colossal wealth, revel in luxury,

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," p. 56.

and live in idleness, while their employees and families were toiling and suffering. It would consist in bringing sunshine and gladness, peace and plenty, love and good-will into the hearts and homes of the people, the vast majority of whom are wage-workers.

Mr. Bright's utterance finds a quick and hearty response in the minds of those who see that a gigantic wrong is being done to wage-workers in the distribution of wealth. The sooner this wrong is recognized on the political platform, in the pulpit, and by the press, the safer it will be for free institutions.

II. — *Private Capital is a Social Crime.*

"Property, when first instituted, was enduring; it did not then take away from anybody the right and the means of becoming a land-owner, for there was no money, while there was vacant land in abundance. From the moment, however, that every free man could no longer appropriate a part of the soil, property has ceased to be a right. It has become a crying evil, and the cause of the misery and destitution of the masses." — WEITLING.

"Iniquity alone has created private property." — ST. CLEMENT.

The second Postulate of Socialism is that Private Capital is a Social Crime, and should be abolished. "Property is robbery because it enables him who has not produced to consume the fruits of other people's toil. What I produce is worth what it costs; i.e., the time and economic goods which enter into it. If a capitalist or landlord takes away ten per cent, then the product costs me more than it is worth. I am robbed of this ten per cent. The proprietor is a thief!"¹

Marx says, "The foundation of the capitalistic method of production is to be found in that theft which deprived the masses of their rights in the soil, in the earth, the common heritage of all." He claims that increase of value in the process of production comes not from the dead materials, but from labor, and it is virtually stolen from the laborers by the owners of the material.

¹ As quoted in "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 133.

This is a stinging charge. But what do Socialists mean by theft? They certainly do not use the word in its literal sense, which is the "felonious taking and carrying away of the personal goods of another."¹ It is essentially clandestine and legally criminal.

This is not the socialistic indictment against private property, much less against individual capitalists. The charge is against the capitalistic system, under and in consequence of which the laborers who produce all, and are therefore entitled to all, receive only a part, and in the case of multitudes only a bare subsistence.

Thus, this second postulate is only a logical inference from the first, that Labor is the Source of all Value. Under the capitalistic system it is claimed that the laborer who works ten hours per day receives the fruit of only five hours, while the fruit of the other five goes into the pocket of the capitalist; thus laborers are exploited. In the language of a Socialist, there is a tree which bears golden fruits, but when those who have planted it reach out their hands to pluck it, it draws back and escapes them. Wound about the tree there is a serpent which keeps every one away from it. This tree is society; the serpent is our present economic organization, which prevents us from enjoying the golden fruit. Gentlemen, we are determined to enjoy the golden fruit and to drive away the serpent."²

It will be seen that Socialism is not opposed to capital as such, nor to capitalists, but to the industrial system in which the wrongs of labor are inherent, and admit of no remedy so long as private capital, which is the corner-stone of the system, exists.

Marx states the difficulty with conciseness and simplicity in saying that labor is a simple commodity, but has two values—value in use and value in exchange. The exchange value is its market price—what will support the laborer: this the capitalist buys.

The value in use is what it is really worth, all that the capitalist can get out of it, which is what he receives in

¹ Blackstone.

² As quoted in "French and German Socialism," p. 233.

the products. This value in use is greatly in excess of the value in exchange.

This difference the capitalist pockets. The laborer would gladly get the last price for his labor, but the capitalist has all the means of production, and the laborer must take the exchange value of his work or starve.¹ This cruel injustice is a part of the economic system. Individual capitalists cannot remedy it. Any man who should attempt to conduct business on any other plan would not only ruin himself, but in no way benefit society.

Trade's unions can avail little, for they leave the toiling millions below them untouched. Labor legislation can only allay irritation and ease friction by oiling the axle while the great Juggernaut rolls on.

By *private property* Socialists intend only *private capital*; that is, lands, buildings, and machinery used in production.

They do not propose to abolish private ownership in personal belongings, including furniture, clothings, books, works of art, and all other private property *not employed as capital*.

Socialists are not opposed to capital as such. The enemies of Socialism have purposely misrepresented them in this respect.

When Marx says, "Capital is the most terrible scourge of humanity; it fattens on the miseries of the poor, the degradation of the worker, and the brutalizing toil of his wife and children," it is capital in individual hands, *private capital*, against which he is inveighing.

Public capital, as we shall soon see, is the one goal of Socialism.

The abolition of private capital in land is urged, not only by Socialists, but by sociologists and philanthropists of widely different schools. All means of production spring originally from the earth; whoever, therefore, owns the land has an advantage over his fellow-man. He not only controls the means of production, but he may fence in the land, force off all other persons, cut off supplies of food, and thus hold in his hands the bodies and souls of men.

1 "Capital," Part III. Chapter vii.

It is claimed that this is the most cruelly unjust and wickedly oppressive monopoly of society, and in view of the natural selfishness, greed, and inhumanity of man, it is certain that, as long as it exists, the greater part of the race must be consigned to poverty and misery.

The institution of private capital derives one of its strongest supports from inheritance. If, therefore, private capital is wrong, inheritance of capital, though not of property, is wrong and should be abolished.

At the Socialists' Congress of Basel in 1869 a majority of the delegates voting declared, "That the rights of inheritance ought to be completely and radically abolished." This refers of course only to capital, property which yields an income, and not to furniture, plate, books, and other articles of enjoyment.

We have now stated fully and fairly the Socialist's views of private capital. Let us examine them in the light of the most advanced sociological science.

Two ideas of property must be distinguished: the Roman, which regards property as a subjective right, and the Christian, which regards it as a *trust* imposing obligations. Until the beginning of the present century the Roman idea held undisputed sway: wealth, as well as birth, belonged to the possessor by divine right. Social castes were the product of natural laws. Property and poverty were alike ordained of God.

Wealth might feel pity, but it acknowledged no obligations. The poor might justly starve before the bursting granaries of the rich. True, God was no respecter of persons; but in the current philosophy this could have no reference to things so worldly as food, clothing, and shelter. If Christ came into this world, he did not come into industry. Now and then a man devoted his property to charitable uses; but this was regarded not as a social duty, but as a purely religious act, and the donor was commiserated in life and canonized in death. But with the dawn of the present century the Christian principles of equality and fraternity had so permeated society that their application began to be extended to industrial relations. They had already found political expression in democracy.

They were more and more recognized in jurisprudence and in education; they had given birth also to eleemosynary institutions; but the fact that men are brothers had been supposed until now to have no connection with the question of labor and capital and the distribution of wealth, matters which belonged entirely to the domain of political economy, which Mr. Mill says is concerned with man "solely as a being who desires to possess wealth. It makes entire abstraction of every other human passion and motive."¹

This "dismal science," ignoring all other ethical considerations and treating the mass of men as "dumb driven cattle," fell into deserved contempt.

A newer and truer political economy is now announced, which rejects the Roman and accepts the Christian idea of property which makes it a trust imposing obligations. The new philosophy declares with God, that "No man liveth unto himself;" that is, society has valid claims upon every man, and this claim extends to property, the title to which therefore cannot be absolute.

Dr. Josiah Strong touches hard pan when he says, "What is needed is not simply an increased giving, an enlarged estimate of the Lord's share, but a radically different conception of our relations to our possessions."² He says a great majority treat their property as if it were their own.

The Christian idea of property is based on the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." If this means anything, it means that property should instantly respond to the necessities of a neighbor; that so sure as I am bound to love him, he has a right to be loved; and this duty on my part and right on his have a real and vital connection with the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. This is the marrow of the social question, which is simply *an attempt to realize the Christian idea of property, founded upon the great principle of human brotherhood, in the industrial affairs of life.*

The present industrial system, root and branch, is a development of the Roman idea of property, which is now

¹ As quoted in "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 366.

² "Our Country," p. 183.

as never before felt to be anti-Christian. The new ethical conception of love and fraternity is irreconcilably opposed to this pagan view of property, hence the conflict.

In the light of these principles, look now at land monopoly. Great Britain is owned by a mere handful of her citizens. England and Wales contain about 37,243,859 acres — about the same as the States of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. One man owns 186,397 acres, or one two-hundredth of the whole, and less than five hundred men own more than one-half of the whole. The condition of Scotland is still worse. Of her 18,946,694 acres, one man owns 1,000,326 acres, which is equal to the whole State of Rhode Island, together with all of Massachusetts from Fall River to the end of Cape Cod. Twenty-four men own one-fourth of all Scotland. Ireland contains 20,159,687 acres, of which one person owns 170,119. Of the 35,000,000 inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, two-thirds of her territory is held by 12,489 persons, leaving 34,987,502, or substantially the whole population, shut out from the greater part of the land, and at the mercy of a privileged few.

Dr. A. J. F. Behrends thus indorses a truth that is nothing less than frightful. "The ownership of land carries with it the ownership of all that the land produces and of all who live upon it."¹ Aside from the three or four million of smaller holders of land these 12,489 British Landlords may say to over 30,000,000 landless men and women, "Get off my land;" and enforce their decrees with all the muskets and bayonets of the nation. But where shall the poor people go? There is not a foot of unclaimed land. The owners will not sell, and, if they would, the people have not the means with which to buy. Plainly the people must escape into the air or sea. Is it any wonder they are crying out, —

'Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell.'

The average man in Great Britain to-day has no right to walk the earth, much less to pluck the fruits thereof; that

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," p. 87.

is, he has no right to live, save by the sufferance of a landed aristocracy; and, what is worst of all, there is a tendency to the still greater concentration of the land.

This is why Socialists demand the abolition of private property in land, because, as Dr. Berhends says, "The ownership of the land carries with it the ownership of all that the land produces and *of all who live upon it.*" We have italicized the last clause, because it is an admission of the tremendous charge of labor; namely, the industrial slavery of the masses inevitably resulting from private property in land. The admission is significant, because made by a keen observer, a philosophical writer, and independent thinker.

We should do him injustice, however, not to add that the above declaration was made in defence of private property, and especially in attempting to show the inconsistency of Henry George, in declaring that, "The pen with which I write is justly mine," while claiming that the land from which it originally sprung was stolen property. Dr. Behrends shows that if the land was stolen property, all that springs from it is stolen property, including the pen of Mr. George, which cannot therefore be justly his own. He seems to think the refutation complete, but he has not touched the thought of George, and the fallacy of his argument will be obvious at a glance. Mr. George is trying to show that an individual may have exclusive right to what *he produces*, but not to what *God has made for all men*. As to the pen, Mr. George does not say, as his opponent assumes, that the land from which it sprung was stolen property; it might have been land not yet appropriated, or, if appropriated, the owner, without regard to his title, would have the same right to obtain materials for the pen which George claims all men have — that is, a common right.

Thus the argument that "the partaker is as bad as the thief" falls to the ground. Moreover, Dr. Behrends, in attempting to refute George, virtually admits the principle for which George is contending; namely, that private property in land is unjust. He says, "The ownership of land carries with it the ownership of all that the land produces

and of all who live upon it." Looking at the earth to-day he is bound to substitute for, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," the earth is the *landlord's* and the people thereof.

If this be true, if the masses doomed to live on the land of others are in any sense the legitimate property of the land-owners, and must suffer all that this economical and social bondage implies, then private ownership in land is the most economically indefensible, politically dangerous, socially hateful, morally rotten, and religiously damnable institution ever devised by human selfishness and tyranny.

There is no swifter enemy of injustice than the author of "Socialism and Christianity;" but his theory of ownership, based on the Roman, rather than the Christian, idea of property, has, it seems to us, led him into grievous error. In perfect harmony with this heathen conception, he says, "Individual ownership" can "pertain to land."

He preaches, however, another doctrine; to wit: "*The earth is the Lord's* and the fulness thereof." He says if there cannot be individual ownership "man cannot own himself." He preaches, however, that no man can own himself, "*Ye are not your own*, for ye are bought with a price."

He says again, "Possession cannot be defended when ownership is denied." He preaches, however, that men are only tenants, whose duty is merely to "*occupy till I come*," which renders possession without ownership defensible. Is it replied, these are considerations that belong to the Christian religion, and the gospel of love, and not to the present industrial system and the gospel of private monopoly? Or shall it be said that ownership is against our fellow-men and not as against God? We reply, let us be done with this heathen, mammonistic, and caste conception of religion which allows us to honor God by injuring our fellow-men. He serves God best who serves man best. These words of the eminent divine sound like an echo from feudalistic times. Guizot says, one of the three essential factors of feudalism was "the amalgamation of sovereignty with property, the attribution to the proprietor of the

soil over all its inhabitants, of the rights which constitute what we call sovereignty.”¹

Laborers do not generally live on their own land, and it sounds strangely to hear from a minister of the gospel of love and equality that on that account they belong to the owner of the soil, and it sounds still more strangely to hear him defend this principle.

If we belong to God, our property belongs to Him. But God has no use either for us or our property except for the good of our fellow-man. In an important sense, therefore, we and all we possess belong to our neighbors. If God is our Father, men are brethren, and brethren have claims upon each other.

Imagine twelve brethren who set out to gather nuts, their only means of subsistence. They join forces, because singly they could do nothing. On returning from their labor, in which each has done his best, they prepare the nuts for eating, and seat themselves at the family table; whereupon one of them scoops up nine-tenths of the nuts, saying, “These are mine; I gathered them, owing to my superior skill and strength. I have a longer arm and am taller than you, and so could reach branches that none of you could reach.

“You saw how skilfully I balanced myself, standing on a limb, so that I could pick with both hands, while you could use only one hand.

“My strength enabled me to shake limbs that you could not move. Yes, I must have nine-tenths of the product. I know, dear brothers, you will go hungry, while I have more than enough. I admit that you have all worked as hard as I have and deserve as much. I pity you; but individual ownership is sacred. These nuts belong to me and to our Heavenly Father, and you must starve.”

Thereupon these brethren cry out grievously in their distress. They appeal to the Law for help; it replies, “Touch one mouthful of these nuts, and you go to jail.” They turn to Political Economy; it says, “Political Economy is concerned with man solely as a being who desires to possess wealth.”²

¹ American Cyclopædia, title, “Feudal System.” ² John Stuart Mill.

They appeal again to the brother, saying, "You could not have obtained these nuts without our help, and you have no use for them. Why not share with us? The brother replies, "Ah, but this constitutes my capital." How did you come by this capital? they ask.

"By my *abstinence*," he replies. The capitalist acquires his capital "by abstaining from consumption, by denying himself the present enjoyment."¹ By what law do you exercise this cruel power? By the law of *self-interest*: capitalism demands "free play to the activity of individuals actuated by motives of self-interest."²

The suffering men now turn to the *Economic Harmonies*, for surely discord and distress may find relief here. They reply, "If the wage-laborer does not seek his interest, his interest will seek him;"³ that is, if they do not seek the nuts, the nuts will seek them, but for some unaccountable reason the nuts do not come to them. They now call upon *Competition*, the angel of distribution; it replies, "Competition expresses the desire . . . of the one to give as little and of the other to get as much as he can."⁴

Driven to despair, they appeal to the Supreme Powers for help; but the answer is "The legislature of the Supreme Powers themselves has established the rule that a man's success shall depend on *self-help*;"⁵ but to help themselves under the circumstances is not table etiquette.

Then they turn beseechingly to "even-handed *Justice*," and she replies, "The utmost that justice can do is to secure to every man his own, to leave every man free . . . to reap the fruits of his own labor."⁶

Now, one brother weaker than the others cries out, "O my brother, have *mercy* upon us, for *justice* fails! Did you not say the nuts belonged to our Heavenly Father who says, "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ"? Surely, now, the burden of hunger and distress will be lifted! But the rich brother replies, "Christianity

¹ Adam Smith.

² "Socialism of To-Day" (Laveleye), p. 89.

³ As stated, though not approved, in "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 411.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 157.

⁵ "Socialism" (Cook), p. 80.

⁶ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 183.

commands us so to bear each other's burdens, that every man shall be able and willing to bear his own."¹ But, plead the suffering brothers, is there not somewhere a great authority that says it is a self-evident truth that "all men are created equal"?² The brother replies, "The yearning after equality is the offspring of envy and covetousness."³

"Well," they continue, "are not men endowed with certain unalienable *rights*, among which are *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*?⁴ We are *unhappy* and our lives are in danger." — "Oh, yes," replies the brother, "but by 'liberty' 'each man is guaranteed the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare.'"⁵ All hope is now gone, and, faint and weary, these poor disinherited brothers resign themselves to die.

This, however, would not benefit, but ruin, the rich brother; and so he calls to his brethren compassionately, "Dear brothers, you have forgotten the one power that is mighty to save." — "What is that?" cry the brethren. "*Freedom of Contract*," answers the brother. Hope revives, and they eagerly ask the terms. The brother replies, "If you will work half the time for me, that is, allow me to have one-half the nuts gathered each day during the remainder of your lives, I will give you enough of the poorest nuts to subsist on, and you shall have some nuts now. I will gladly advance it out of my capital to appease your present hunger." Thereupon there is great rejoicing amid the brothers. "We shall live, and not die!" they exclaim. "We accept your terms. O blessed principle of Freedom of Contract, why did we not think of you before? The Private Capital of our dear brother and Freedom of Contract are our saviors, in whom henceforth we live and move and have our being."

Capitalism, with all its vicious and unsavory maxims which we have italicized, is thus established. The rich

¹ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 183.

² Declaration of Independence.

³ "Social Classes" (Sumner), p. 168.

⁴ Declaration of Independence.

⁵ Quoted approvingly in "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 80.

brother takes each day his agreed share of the product of nuts. Soon he is a millionaire. He does nothing and lives in luxury, while his brothers toil and suffer and die of want.

This allegory is not extravagant. It represents the spirit and actual workings of the existing industrial system. The answers to the appeals of the brothers are quotations *verbatim et litteratim* from leading economists and writers who defend the iniquitous system. It is not claimed that these answers are destitute of all elements of truth important under any system.

It is no sufficient answer to say, "Let these unfortunate brothers go to work; they have an equal chance with their smarter brother." They *have been at work* and are hungry; and the question now concerns the distribution of the fruits of labor. We admit that the bargain which, under the name Freedom of Contract, the rich brother makes with the others is *legal* and *perfectly legitimate* in the existing order, and is everywhere and every day repeated and justified. Carlyle thus represents an employer of the highest social standing: "My starving workers?" answers the rich mill-owner. "'Did not I hire them fairly in the market? Did not I pay them to the last sixpence the sum covenanted for? What have I to do with them more?'" O sumptuous merchant-prince, illustrious game-preserving duke, is there no way of killing thy brother but Cain's rude way?"

We object, however, in the name of offended justice, of outraged humanity, and of a perverted Christianity to a system that allows, nay, compels, the employer to exploit his workmen. The abolition of this system involves the substitution of the Christian for the pagan idea of property. Until this is done there is no help for society. Dr. Behrens quotes approvingly the dictum of Schaeffle that "Property is itself a part of the individual possessor."¹ Can this be true? Is it true that merchandise ranks with human life and limb? Is an ox, an ass, or a bag of gold related to its possessor as his eye, his hand, or his foot?

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," p. 89.

Shall the faculties of thinking, feeling, and willing, which are a part of the possessor, be co-ordinated with his stocks and bonds? Is the difference between his bones and his barns one of degree only? *Property* a "part of the individual possessor"! The Bible says "All that a man hath will he give for his life." God certainly makes a difference between a man and his possessions. If property is a part of the possessor, what part is it? If the rich young man, when bidden by Christ, had given all his property to the poor, what part of him would have been left? If property is a part of its possessor, then the propertyless multitudes are deprived of some part of themselves! Truly this is an idea of property as a subjective right in full and fulsome bloom.

If, as the same author declares, "the destruction of private property would become ultimately the extinction of personal life," are we to understand that the "personal life" of the propertyless classes is to be regarded as extinct? Had He who "had not whereon to lay his head" "no personal life"? Are poor men dead men? If so, it will be at least conceded that they are lively corpses; being dead, they yet speak, and their voices, like the shots of Concord, are being "heard round the world." No, property is not "a part of the individual possessor." There is an essential difference between even the whole world and a man's soul.

Property, within scriptural limitations, is a blessing to man, elevating and civilizing; but so far is it from being a part of its possessor, it is, under capitalism, too often a deceit and a snare, ministering to his pride, stiffening his neck, hardening his heart, and shrivelling his soul for time and eternity.

This is not saying that there are not rich men superior to their property, who regard it as a trust. It is our privilege to be intimately acquainted with rich men who, in spite of their riches, are humble, industrious, and benevolent, and whose delight it is to go about doing good.

The title to property cannot be regarded as *absolute*, but *relative* and conditional only. It is refreshing to hear the

eminent political economist, R. T. Ely, say, "From a purely scientific standpoint, we do not live for ourselves alone, but for one another, as well as for ourselves." This is essential Socialism.

As population increases and society becomes more highly organized, it will become absolutely necessary to recognize and apply this golden rule, which can only be done by abolishing, not private property, but private *capital*, which has come to be anti-Christian and is a prolific source of social injustice and misery.

It is this which makes gigantic land monopolies possible. This is a wrong to society which everybody sees and feels. We have seen that Great Britain and Ireland are largely in the hands of syndicates of land-owners.

Since no man can sustain life without access to the land upon which he must live, and from which alone he can supply himself with food, clothing, and shelter, it follows that these British Syndicates have it in their power, by the simple device of high rent, to reduce the inhabitants of these islands to slavery.

Herbert Spencer says, "If one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of the earth may be so held; and eventually the whole of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands."¹

Replying to this, Mr. Joseph Cook says, "One might as well fear that because the law gives a man absolute possession of one wife he will take two, three, or twenty."² The cases are not parallel: the law forbids a man to take more than one wife, while it allows him to take any number of the "portions of the earth," even the whole of it.

Spencer is showing the injustice of land monopoly. If the law allowed a man but one acre, as it does but one wife, this discussion would not have arisen. A plurality of wives in Utah justly awakens a storm of wrath through-

¹ "Social Statics," Chapter ix., Sect. 2

² "Socialism," p. 47.

out the whole country, and draws the lurid lightning of Mr. Cook's eloquence, while the plurality of acres, which any individual may monopolize, and which is conceded to be a gigantic social crime, is sanctioned in the name of private property. In the rapid progress of social evolution this defender of the truth may yet be heard denouncing, not only polygamy in marriage, but polygamy in land. Mr. Cook says, "The methods of land tenure are decided by convenience and custom and the consent of nations and large general justice."¹

In a sense this is true; but the pertinent question is, for *whose* convenience "is the land of Great Britain and Ireland held"? Is it by the "consent" of all the people, or by a "large general justice" that 30,000,000, nearly the entire population, are obliged to beg the privilege of living from a few who have got exclusive possession of the land?

We believe that few ministers of the gospel of Christ can be found to-day who will indorse the doctrine of private capital in land.

"I firmly believe," says Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley, "that the present system of land tenure is not in harmony with either philosophy or religion."²

On another page Mr. Cook argues that the Socialistic state could not raise money to pay for the land now held by individuals. He says, "Let us suppose that there is a proposition to buy all the land of England, a little island over yonder in the sea. Professor Faucett has shown that the money which would be needed to pay for that land would be more than the present income of the United Kingdom, although that income is 1,000,000,000 pounds annually."³ His sword cuts both ways. If money is king, then the privileged owners of this land are invested with power such as no Plantagenet or Tudor ever possessed, and this power is none the less cruel and tyrannous when exercised socially and industrially in the exaction of rent enforced by the sovereign law of the nation, than when exercised politically by the mandate of the king.

¹ Socialism, p. 48.

² "The Congregationalist," October, 1892.

³ "Socialism," p. 25.

We are utterly unable to see how the monopoly of land, and of consequent power in the hands of a few, can harmonize with Mr. Cook's statement that the methods of holding land are decided by "a large general justice." It seems to us to be by a "large general" and outrageous *injustice*.

The monopoly of land is the chief cause of social discontent everywhere. Half of Prussia is owned by 31,000 men. Of her 26,000,000 people nearly the whole are excluded from the land. Most of the land of Austria is held in very large estates by her nobility. The southern provinces are in the hands of large proprietors.

Immense estates in Italy are closed against the people. "The peasants," says Laveleye, "are reduced to extreme misery by rent and taxation."

The tendency is in the same direction in the United States. Land is becoming dearer and, relatively to the whole population, getting into fewer hands every day. Heretofore it has been plenty and cheap, and this has been the cause of our unexampled prosperity; but we are now beginning to realize the European situation. There are already farms in the West of ten, twenty, and even one hundred thousand acres. Individuals and syndicates, both American and European, have obtained possession of vast tracts. To six railroads, Congress has granted an amount of land equal to the whole of Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece; that is, to a few rich men who need nothing, Congress has given vast sums and guaranteed their bonds to the amount of \$180,000,000; while to the many wage-workers who need everything it has given and guaranteed nothing.¹

The public land is being rapidly exhausted. In 1880 the government had left about 700,000,000 acres. Every year makes a large reduction; 19,000,000 acres were disposed of in the year 1884.

It is agreed on all sides that, at the present rate of grants, in nine years, all the public land will be reduced to private

¹ "Modern Socialism" (Grönland), p. 93.

ownership, and thus, as Dr. Strong says, "Our wide domain will soon cease to palliate popular discontent, because it will soon be beyond the reach of the poor."¹ Will it be safe to continue to teach the poor that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are unalienable rights, when land, the source of life and the guarantee of liberty, is beyond their reach?

Can anybody be so blind as not to see the mutual antagonism between that idea of property which, in Great Britain, allows, as Dr. Strong says, one man to ride in a straight line one hundred miles on his own estate, or to own a county extending across the whole country, or to fence in three hundred square miles extending from sea to sea for a deer-park, evicting many families to make room for the deer; and the democratic principle based upon the Declaration of Independence and the word of God? The same idea of absolute private property in land prevails in this country as in England. These principles, namely, that a few may acquire the sole and exclusive right to the earth, and civil liberty, we repeat, are mutually repellent, and, like fire and gunpowder, when their contact becomes sufficiently close there must be an explosion. Against this monopoly of land God pronounces the severest judgments: "Woe unto them who join house to house, that lay field to field till there be no place;"² that is, till the laborer and the less fortunate have no rights in land.

All history shows that when the masses lose their rights in the land, they are subjected to social degradation, pinching poverty, and industrial slavery.

Can we wonder that the suffering millions are crying out against private property in land and other means of production?

Long before the second great Commandment had found expression in Socialism, Christianity had taken the same position as to property. "Bossuet has merely reproduced what may be read on every page of the Christian Fathers. 'The rich man is a thief' (St. Basil). 'The rich are robbers; a kind of equality must be effected by making gifts

¹ "Our Country," p. 156.

² Isa. v. 8.

out of their abundance. Better all things in common' (St. Chrysostom). 'Opulence is always the product of a theft, committed, if not by the actual possessor, by his ancestors' (St. Jerome). 'Nature created community; private property is the offspring of usurpation' (St. Ambrose). 'In strict justice everything should belong to all. Iniquity alone has created private property' (St. Clement)."¹

It is Christianity, therefore, that has taught Socialists their ideas of private capital and the epithets they apply to it.

We can afford to forgive men driven to madness by the social wrongs they have endured, for calling property theft, when the fathers of the Christian Church have been declaring it theft and robbery for centuries. In the beginning God gave the land into the hands of man, saying let them have dominion over the *earth, not over each other*. This dominion was not to be exercised by Adam alone, or by any class of men, but by *the race*. This idea that land was for the common benefit of all prevailed in the earliest times.

Laveleye says, "In all primitive societies the soil was the joint property of the tribes, and was subject to periodical distribution among all the families, so that all might live by their labor as nature ordained. The comfort of each was thus proportioned to his energy and intelligence; no one, at any rate, was destitute of the means of subsistence, and inequality increasing from generation to generation was provided against."²

It is certain that land was thus held by the Israelites. If poverty compelled one to part with the use of his land, it was only for a time. The year of Jubilee restored it to him or his family.

God made this law. He intended to prevent the extremes of wealth and poverty by prohibiting the monopoly of land, and securing to every Israelite a right to the soil. Pauperism was unknown.

Plutocratic oppression, which is now legal and no bar to

¹ "Socialism of To-day" (De Laveleye). Intro. p. xix.

² As quoted in "Progress and Poverty" (George), p. 334.

honor in church and society, would have been visited with death by stoning.

Strabo says the Dalmations "redistributed their land every eight years."¹

To banish inequalities of wealth among the Spartans Lycurgus divided the land into 29,000 parts, and assigned one part to each citizen.² Republican Rome made it unlawful for a citizen to own but a small portion of land. Pliny says great estates ruined first Italy, then her provinces.³ Henry George, in "Progress and Poverty," a book which marks an epoch in the history of the land question, after a wide historical survey of the subject, says the "Common right to land has everywhere been primarily recognized, and private ownership has nowhere grown up save by usurpation.

"It nowhere springs from contract; it can nowhere be traced to perceptions of justice or expediency; it has everywhere had its birth in war and conquest."⁴ An examination of the origin of land tenures forces us to acknowledge the truth of these assertions.

Herbert Spencer says, "Equity does not permit property in land." John Stuart Mill says, "The land is not of man's creation, and for a person to appropriate to himself a mere gift of nature, not made to him in particular, but which belonged to all others until he took possession of it, is *prima facie* an injustice to all the rest."⁵

Not only Socialists, but an increasing number of the friends of humanity, sympathize with the demand for the nationalization of land.

Dr. Behrends admits "That there is a disposition on the part of many to concede the justice of this demand!"⁶

Professor R. T. Ely says, "The most tremendous practical consequences flow from the fact that land is a natural

¹ Smith's Bible Dictionary, title, "Jubilee." Note.

² Anthon's Classical Dictionary, title, "Sparta."

³ "Roman Antiquities" (Adams), p. 385.

⁴ "Progress and Poverty" (George), pp. 332, 333.

⁵ Dissert. IV., p. 289.

⁶ "Socialism and Christianity," p. 87.

monopoly, and the so-called land question deserves all the attention it is receiving.”¹

Mr. Rae, in a critical and comprehensive survey of the principles of Socialism, says that when the increase of population compels a resort to inferior soils for subsistence, “It becomes the duty of society to see that the most productive use possible is being made of its land, and to introduce such a mode of tenure as seems most likely effectually to secure that end.”²

Prince Bismarck said that the spread of Socialism in the agricultural district of Lauenburg need not excite surprise, because “the laborers could never hope to acquire the smallest spot of ground as their own possession, and were kept in a state of dependence on the gentry and the peasant proprietor.”³

If this means anything, it means that, when any class of citizens is so shut out from its interest in the land as to be dependent on land-owners, it is enslaved.

Carlyle once said to an American, “The reason why your laboring people are so happy is because you have a *vast deal of land for a very few people*.”⁴ The want of land will render laborers unhappy. It is difficult to see how our Republic can guarantee the right to the “pursuit of happiness,” while it legalizes the monopoly of land. The people are speaking plainly about monopoly.

By all parties the monopolists of the necessities of life are called thieves and robbers. Land is a necessity of life, and so also are other *means of production*, and when Socialists call the monopolizers of these thieves and robbers, we need not be too critical.

The atmosphere of this question is economically wholesome and morally bracing. The wind is blowing in the right direction. The sky is red, and it will be fair weather to-morrow. Private capital has been a necessary condition of a progressive civilization.

¹ “Problems of To-day,” p. 112.

² “Contemporary Socialism,” p. 449.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴ “Our Country” (Strong), p. 153.

In the historical social evolution, however, great and radical changes take place.

Scarcely a feature of social life in the days of Moses was discernible in the time of Christ. Still greater is the contrast between the dawn of the Christian era and the present day. Either of the causes of Socialism formerly considered is a gigantic Gulf Stream running through the social organism. All of them combined have produced, almost within a century, a complete metamorphosis of the social structure. Nothing remains but the few fundamental and immutable principles of human conduct.

The discovery of these principles and their application to the changed and changing conditions of human life, is the problem of Sociological science. The absoluteness of private property is not one of these immutable principles.

The Scriptural sanctions of private property, so far as they relate to tenure, are not in their nature *mandatory* but *directory*, and are made with reference to the then existing and primitive condition of society. Ferdinand Lassalle, whom Ex-President Theodore D. Woolsey characterizes as "a man of splendid endowments," published a volume "to show that certain rights of vast importance — such as property and inheritance — are really historical and not jural; that is, they arose in circumstances that justified their recognition, but that certain other circumstances might require their abolition."¹

Private property may be right where land is plenty and population sparse, and wrong when all the land is appropriated and population dense. Certain it is that God never intended that the time should come when private property should prevent his earth from responding to the hungry mouths and willing hands of any of his children; on the contrary, he says, what is utterly inconsistent with the current idea of property: "*The profit of the earth is for all.*"²

When we reflect upon the cruel land monopolies of Europe, where the toiling millions have no right to the soil except by sufferance of the rich land-owner, and realize

¹ As quoted in "Communism and Socialism," p. 175.

² Eccles. v. 9.

that the same land laws and social tendencies are rapidly producing this iniquitous state of affairs in this country, we are forced to believe that, while private capital is not literal theft, it now involves great social injustice, is anti-scriptural and especially hostile to the New Testament doctrines of love and brotherhood.

The well-to-do in society have no more right to monopolize the land, as against the poor and weak, than a syndicate of redeemed spirits would have to fence in against other saints the crystal rivers, waving trees, and golden-paved streets of heaven.

We are told that in our country at least there is no land question; we have land enough and to spare. Is it wise to build up institutions on a false foundation, because the conditions of mischief are, for a time, delayed? Within ten or fifteen years all our land will have become private property. Every day swells the ranks of the landless, and hence, in a free country, dangerous classes.

To dismiss this question, therefore, as of no importance, because we have land enough for the present, is to sit down beside a bomb-shell in composure, because it has a long fuse. The first step to be taken in this reform is to substitute in the popular mind, the Christian for the Roman idea of property.

The pagan idea has been handed down from century to century, and is wrought into the whole fabric of society. It envelops us like an atmosphere. There is scarcely a relation in human life that does not suffer from its polluted and polluting breath. It is the one relic of barbarism that has defied Christian civilization. But the time has come when the principle must be abandoned. The world has outgrown it. Society will no longer tolerate it.

If men are brothers, private property cannot be absolute. Dr. Washington Gladden, in a candid and instructive review of the social questions in their relation to Christianity, says, "It is plain that there was in Jerusalem a voluntary consecration, by each member of the infant church, of his property to the supply of the actual needs of the brotherhood. *That is no doubt the Christian rule.*"¹

¹ "Applied Christianity," p. 16.

The italics are ours. If this is the Christian rule, then the existing order is far from being Christian. Socialism demands that the Christian rule shall be adopted; that capital shall be socialized in accordance with the new idea of right and social justice now prevailing.

A standard American author on real property says the right of property "is so far limited that its use may be regulated from time to time by law, so as to prevent its being inconsistent with the rights of the community."¹ What are rights? Will it be questioned that they are more and different and more sacred than when private property first took form and root amid pagan inequalities and cruelties?

"Equality of rights," said Charles Sumner, "is the first of all rights." If God has given life to every individual, he has given a right to the means of sustaining it. These means are, the earth with its resources, the air and water; and these no man may monopolize.

Should a syndicate of scientists succeed in exhausting the air near the surface of the earth, bottle it up, and demand a price for it, which they assuredly would do if they could, how long would they be allowed to hold it? Just long enough for men to want one breath. Why? Because it is a natural resource essential to life in which all men have a right. The same is true of water. Why not of earth as well as air and water, for land is equally essential to life? In the same sense that the earth is the Lord's, it is not the *landlords*. When, in the evolution of society, other means of production and of sustaining life become related to society, as is the land, they must be regarded in the same manner. Ownership is also conditioned on the paramount right of the State.

The present industrial system sprang up when the opinion prevailed that the powerful had divine right to maintain themselves against and at the expense of the weak. Democracy has discovered that the State, politically considered, is the people; but it is yet too fresh from mo-

¹ "Washburn on Real Estate," p. 2.

narchical ideas to think of the State, industrially considered, as the people, as society itself, having the same lien upon private property as the State.

These two claims upon all property, viz., the claim of God as a common Father and of the State as all the people, have not yet been reduced to common terms and applied to industrial life; therefore the social conflict. It is between an economic aristocracy and a political democracy, between industrial tyranny and social liberty, between plutocracy and theocracy, between the Roman idea of property as a subjective right and the Christian idea as a trust imposing duties. But we are told that this Christian idea of property is right in the abstract, but it is not practical, it is *ideality*.

So is Christianity itself ideality. It demands the abolition of sin in every soul and the reign of righteousness in every rill of human society, and it will be satisfied with nothing less. Time-serving men charge it with impracticality and sneer at its Utopian scheme. But its ideality is its crown and its glory. Ideality is God, and God will ultimately win.

The practical is often variable in quantity and destitute of moral quality. The ideal is divine and perfect. What *is* should always fear and tremble before what *ought to be*.

All social institutions and all human activities that do not have ideality as their Alpha and Omega are belittling to the soul and false to the Creator.

We have now indicated the principles which must be recognized and applied in modifying the present tenure of capital, so as to meet the advancing conditions of society in the growth and spread among the people, of that divine trinity of principles announced by Christ and sanctioned by the universal Christian consciousness, liberty, equality, and fraternity.

These principles now demand that private capital, which is the exploitation of the wage-worker, which enables the rich to take toll of his flesh and blood, and which is thus a social crime, shall be abolished, so far at least as may be necessary to secure social justice.

III. — *The Rich are growing richer, and the Poor poorer.*

"It is one of the most melancholy features in the social state of this country, that while there was a decrease in the consuming powers of the people, and while there was an increase in the privations and distress of the laboring class and operatives, there was at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes, and a constant increase of capital." — WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

The third Postulate of Socialism is that under the capitalistic system, *the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer*. Laborers, however, are better off than formerly. *The absolute condition of the poor* is not here in question; but the *relative rate of material progress between the rich and poor*. The words of Rodbertus are, "As the productivity of social labor increases, the wages of the laboring classes constitute an ever-decreasing portion of the national product."¹

Marx states the Postulate more fully thus: "With the continually decreasing number of the magnates of capitalism, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of the changed form of production, there is an accompanying increase in the mass of misery, of oppression, of bondage, of degradation, of exploitation."² Increasing millions of laborers, not yet Socialists, believe this to be true. The evil is regarded not as incidental, which a little social tinkering can remedy, but as inherent in the capitalistic system.

Socialism, therefore, would take the beast and cut off its tail immediately behind its ears. The essential features of this system are Private Capital, Freedom of Contract, and Free Competition.

The first condition of freedom of contract, is freedom *not to contract*. Practically there can be no freedom of contract between the weak and the powerful, the poor and the rich, the dependent employee and the independent employer. It is free only in the sense in which the contract of capitulation between Lee and Grant was free.

Cold and hunger affect freedom of contract as a pistol in

¹ As quoted in "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 161.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

the hands of a highwayman affects his proposal to his victim, who, under the circumstances, gladly embraces the opportunity to accept it.

In this Postulate it is not intended to assert the absolute condition of either the rich or the poor, but only their relative condition. Confusion has resulted from not observing this distinction.

We repeat that in the charge that the rich are growing richer, *and* the poor poorer, it is not the *absolute* but the *relative condition* of the two classes that is intended.

It will be admitted that this is a tremendous indictment against the existing order. Is it true? Most writers agree that labor has some cause of complaint against capital; there is wrong somewhere.

Let us consider the grounds on which this Postulate rests and the objections to it.

1. The Concentration of Wealth. There are seventy persons in our country with a total of \$2,700,000,000, or \$31,500,000 each; 30 others are worth upwards of \$30,000,000 each; 25,000 persons own one-half the national wealth, or one-seventeenth of the population owns two-thirds of it.

If the present accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few continues, the "United states of America will be substantially owned by less than 50,000 persons" within 30 years.¹ The case is even worse in Great Britain. "The income of the United Kingdom is now (1880) a thousand millions pounds annually. This enormous fortune has been accumulated so rapidly, that if Great Britain had started from nothing fifty years ago, and progressed at the rate of the recent annual increment of her wealth, she would have now not far from her present income. 'While we have been advancing with this portentous rapidity,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'America is passing us by in a canter' " ²

2. The testimony of Political Economists is important on this point. Professor R. T. Ely, in describing the rise

¹ Thomas G. Sherman, "Forum," November, 1889.

² "Labor" (Cook), p. 16.

of the fourth estate (wage-workers), says, "The weak and needy had as never before lost all connection with the strong and powerful. . . . The capitalist grew richer, and among the higher classes of society luxury and extravagance increased. The laborer, noticing all this, asked himself if his lot had in any way improved. He was inclined to deny that it had. . . . The rich were becoming richer; and it was thought the poor were becoming poorer."¹

Dr. Strong furnishes valuable testimony on this subject. "'There is,' says the eminent Professor Cairnes, 'a constant growth of the national capital, with a nearly equally constant decline in the proportion of capital which goes to support productive labor,' and this can result, he points out, only in 'a harsh separation of classes, combined with those glaring inequalities in the distribution of wealth which most people will agree are among the elements of our instability.' 'Unequal as is the distribution of wealth already in this country (England), the tendency of industrial progress — on the supposition that the present separation between industrial classes is maintained — is towards an inequality greater still. The rich will be growing the richer and the poor at least relatively poorer.'

"Professor Henry Carter Adams says that 'the benefits of the present civilization are not impartially distributed, and that the laborer of to-day, as compared with the non-laboring classes, holds a relatively inferior position to that maintained in former times.

"'The laborer himself interprets this to mean that the principle of distribution which modern society has adopted is unfair to him.' Is it strange that working men should agree with such conclusions of political economists?"²

3. The Gulf between Social Classes is widening. The evils of the industrial differentiation of the people extend most unhappily to all social relations. Class distinctions are growing in spite of the equalizing tendencies of democratic institutions, and in spite of the noble and often heroic efforts of Christianity and philanthropy.

¹ "French and German Socialism," pp. 7-9.

² "Our Country," pp. 103, 104.

The meetings and feasting of the rich become more and more exclusive. Their children are taught in the private school, or by private tutors, to prevent contamination by poorer children made of inferior clay. In the social circle caste is king, and in the church are gathered the well-to-do, who, while asking the question how to reach the masses, abate not one jot or tittle of that mammonistic pride and vanity which precisely answers the questions how *not* to reach them.

The spirit that in Boston within forty-five years has deprived a certain district with an increasing but poorer population of nine churches and is now causing the tenth to seek a more "desirable" field is fairly representative, not of Christianity, but of the church.¹ All this widening of class lines is undemocratic as well as unchristian. If this tendency goes on in our country, till society is permanently divided into hostile camps with a haughty plutocracy on the one side and an angry proletarian class on the other, then will come the severest test to our republican institutions.

We do not despair of the republic; but we are not sanguine enough to believe that it will survive the segregation of wage-workers into a permanent hereditary class, without property and hopeless.

4. The relative Condition of Laborers in England is worse than in feudal times. Of industrial classes in England, Thorold Rogers, one of the foremost political economists of England, says, "It is in vain to rejoice over the aggregate of our prosperity, and to forget that great part of the nation has no share in its benefits. It may be that the wisdom of our forefathers was accidental; it is certain that society was divided by less sharp lines and was held together by common ties in a far closer manner, in the times which it has been my fortune to study (the Middle Ages) than it is now. The feudal system of the Middle Ages was one of mutual interest; its theory of property involved far more exacting duties than modern rights ever acknowledged, or remember, or perhaps know."²

¹ "Congregationist," August, 1888.

² As quoted in "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 5.

Here, from an unexpected source, and with no intent to indorse Socialism, we come upon facts that furnish a solid foundation for its Postulate, that under the capitalistic system, the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer.

5. Industrial Dependence Impoverishes the Laborer. The deterioration of the laborer's condition must, with exceptions that are only temporary, increase *pari passu* with his increasing dependence.

The concentration of capital, the swallowing-up of small industries, the use of machinery, the minute subdivision of labor, all tend to destroy the independence of the individual laborer. In the presence of the great corporation, he has less and less to say about the details of his work or the amount of his wages.

All these are fixed by arbitrary, *ex parte* rules and regulations, which under the system are legitimate and even necessary, however socially unjust in themselves. The laborer is more and more regarded as an inferior and his labor as a pure commodity. This labor, owing to competition, he is under an increasing pressure to sell.

"Wages," says Mr. Mill, "are likely to be high where none are compelled by necessity to sell their labor."¹

The opposite is equally true; that is, in proportion as the sale of labor is compulsory wages will be low. As certain, therefore, as that the tendency of industrial conditions renders the laborer more dependent, so certain is it that the laboring poor must grow relatively poorer.

6. In Cities especially Poverty Deepens as Wealth Increases. The increasing poverty and misery of American cities, rendering large masses, if not a majority of citizens, helpless and hopeless, is an evil so portentous that our wisest statesmen stand aghast before it.

There is no surer evidence of degrading poverty than overcrowding in wretched tenement houses. "No city in the world suffers so deeply from this evil as New York. Twenty-two thousand dwellings are supposed to shelter over one-third of its population, and from these crowded stalls come over fifty-three per cent of the city's dead. . . .

¹ As quoted in "The Wage Question" (Walker), p. 348.

The greatest density of population in London is at the rate of 176,000 per square mile, while there are wards in New York where the rate is 185,000, and even 242,000. . . . Think of a plat of ground 200 feet square providing a permanent home for nearly 600 persons, giving to each a space of eight feet by nine! But even so scanty a provision is palatial when the facts are more closely examined. Sixteen families composed of eighty persons in a single twenty-five foot dwelling are common. . . . In a room twelve by eight and five one-half feet high inspected in 1879, it was found that nine persons slept and prepared their food. . . . In another room, located in a dark cellar, without screens or partitions, were huddled together two men with their wives and a girl of fourteen, two single men and a boy of seventeen, two women, and four boys nine, ten, eleven, and fifteen years old — *fourteen* persons in all." . . .

Ninety per cent of the children born in these places are the victims of an early death. "Here," to quote the words of a legislative report, "infantile life unfolds its bud, but perishes before its first anniversary. Here youth is ugly with loathsome diseases and the deformities which follow physical degeneracy.

"Here the decrepitude of age is found at thirty. The poor themselves have a very expressive term for the slow process of decay which they suffer; viz., 'Tenant-House Rot' . . . Vice, crime, drunkenness, lust, disease, and death here hold sway in spite of the most powerful moral and religious influence."¹ The average American has been accustomed to associate such nauseating descriptions with the slums of European cities. Can it be that already in the queen city of the New World, a land literally flowing with milk and honey, poverty has taken on an aspect so dark and dreadful! Let the dullest imagination fill out the sickening details of this horrible picture, — the gnawing hunger and the pinching cold, the frightful oaths and obscene jests, the brutal quarrels and hideous orgies, the noisome smells and disgusting noises, the reeking filth and

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," pp. 205, 206.

shocking indecencies, the utter absence of "hope that comes to all," the hot tears flowing from glassy eyes, the sighs and groans of despair at the certainty that the only deliverance from this sepulchre above the ground is the one below it—and we are led to ask in all seriousness can there be real fear of God and genuine love of man in a community or country where such things are allowed to exist? Shall Socialism be condemned for seeking to put an end to such a condition of things?

But this is only half, and it may be in the sight of Heaven the better half, of the picture. Over against the thousands wallowing in poverty are the wealthy rolling in luxury. New York papers of 1880 published such statements as the following: "The profits of the Wall Street kings the past year were enormous. It is estimated that Vanderbilt made \$30,000,000; Jay Gould, \$15,000,000; Russell Sage, \$10,000,000; Sidney Dillon, \$10,000,000; James R. Keene, \$8,000,000; and three or four others from one to two millions each, making a grand total for ten or twelve estates of about \$80,000,000."¹

Think of it! Twelve men, speculators in Wall Street, received a greater sum in 1880 than all the 182,000 laborers in the manufacturing establishments of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island, by some \$10,000,000, and nearly one-half as much as the 527,533 laborers in like establishments in the whole State of New York.²

Think of this condition of things in the heart of the Great Republic whose shibboleth is equality, and whose corner-stone is inscribed with the motto "We be brethren!" Think of it again, a civilization and laws that allow wealth to be piled mountain high, while within sight are thousands of helpless women and innocent children suffering the agonies of the damned in a pre-mortem hell! Well may the Christian patriot exclaim, "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just." It is no sufficient answer to these things to say that wealth and poverty spring from natural law, that men are unequally endowed,

¹ As quoted in "Our Country" (Strong), p. 103.

² "The Labor Movement," etc., p. 617.

and the true theory is to guarantee every man an equal chance to get what he can and keep what he gets.

True, men are unequally endowed; talents differ; but we deny that God endows any man willing to work, with the talent to suffer and die of want in the midst of abundance. The very fact that men are unequally endowed, shows that any system which fails to recognize this truth, and places no restraint on the greed of the strong, is rotten at the core. The spirit of this class of apologists for social misery mocks every worthy sentiment of humanity and every precept of religion. It is the kind of scepticism most to be dreaded, because its prophets appear in sheep's clothing while undermining our faith not only in God, but in humanity. It is the coronation not of Immanuel, but of the fiend of human selfishness, as lord of all.

Nothing, however, could be more unjust than to attribute to individuals the evils due to a system. Rich men did not make the system; the system made them. A Vanderbilt and a Gould are not one whit more to be blamed for possessing their millions than the laborer for receiving his \$1.50 per day.

"It is the city," says Dr. Josiah Strong, "where wealth is massed; and here are the tangible evidences of it piled many stories high.

"Here the sway of Mammon is widest, and his worship the most constant and eager. Here are luxuries gathered — everything that dazzles the eye or tempts the appetite; here is the most extravagant expenditure. Here also is the *congestion* of wealth the severest.

"Dives and Lazarus are brought face to face. Here, in sharp contrast, are the *ennui* of surfeit and the desperation of starvation.

"The *rich are richer*, and the *poor are poorer*, in the city than elsewhere; and, as a rule, the greater the city the greater are the riches of the rich and the poverty of the poor. Not only does the proportion of the poor increase with the growth of the city, but their condition becomes more wretched. The poor of a city of 8,000 inhabitants are well off compared with many in New York; and there are no such

depths of woe, such utter and heart-wringing wretchedness, in New York as in London. Read in 'The bitter Cry of Out-cast London,' a prophecy of what will some day be seen in American cities, providing existing tendencies continue. 'Few who will read these pages have any conception of what these pestilential human rookeries are where tens of thousands are crowded together amidst horrors which call to mind what we have heard of the middle passage of the slave-ship. To get into them you have to penetrate courts reeking with poisonous and malodorous gases, arising from accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in all directions, and often flowing beneath your feet; courts, many of them which the sun never penetrates, which are never visited by a breath of fresh air. You have to ascend rotten staircases, grope your way along dark and filthy passages swarming with vermin. Then, if you are not driven back by the intolerable stench, you may gain admittance to the dens in which these thousands of beings herd together. Eight feet square: that is about the average size of very many of these rooms. Walls and ceilings are black with the accretions of filth which have gathered upon them through long years of neglect. It is exuding through cracks in the boards; it is everywhere. . . . Every room in these rotten and reeking tenements houses a family, often two. In one cellar a sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother, three children, and four pigs. . . . Here are seven people living in one underground kitchen, and a little dead child lying in the same room. Elsewhere is a poor widow, her three children, and a child who had been dead thirteen days. Her husband, who was a cabman, had shortly before committed suicide. . . . In another apartment, nine brothers and sisters, from twenty-nine years of age downwards, live, eat, and sleep together. Here is a mother who turns her children into the street in the early evening, because she lets her rooms for immoral purposes until long after midnight, when the poor little wretches creep back again, if they have not found some miserable shelter elsewhere. Where there are beds, they are simply heaps of dirty rags, shavings, or straw; but for the most part these miserable beings find rest

only upon the filthy boards. . . . There are men and women who lie and die, day by day, in their wretched single room, sharing all the family trouble, enduring the hunger and the cold, and waiting, without hope, without a single ray of comfort, until God curtains their staring eyes with the merciful film of death.'"¹ Here, in these dens of London,

"Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable," —

the eminent author of "Our country" says, is "a prophecy of what will some day be seen in American cities, providing existing tendencies continue."

What are these tendencies? Chiefest among them is the worship of Mammon. What are the three articles of its creed? First, Private Capital; second, Freedom of Contract; third, Competition.

So long as these principles, supported by law and custom, dominate industry, so long will the weak be pushed to the wall by the strong, so long will the rich continue to grow richer, and the poor poorer.

7. The Hardships of Laborers, with local exceptions, amid advancing wealth supports this postulate as to the relative condition of the rich and poor. With the introduction of machinery and the massing of laborers in shops and mines have come increased dangers to their health and lives. Professor Francis A. Walker has collected a mass of valuable testimony on this point. He says of the destructive effects of mining on human life, "When it is remembered that in addition to the great liability to fatal accident the amount of carbonic acid gas, which in nature is 300-350 in 1,000,000, and does not ordinarily exceed 3,000 in the stifling atmosphere of factories and workshops, often goes up to 20,000 in the air of mines, the excessive mortality within this occupation will not be a matter of wonder.

"Sir Thomas Bazley's report [England] for 1870 states the number of deaths from accidents in collieries and iron-stone

¹ As quoted in "Our Country," pp. 129, 130, 131.

mines at 991. In the same year 373 persons were killed in works under the Factory Acts; 1,378 were so injured that amputation was required, while the lesser injuries footed up 16,828."¹ Every working day in the year witnesses the bruising, maiming, and killing of between 500 and 1,000 laborers in this country and Europe.

Official reports and scientific investigations leave no doubt that daily thousands of laborers take into their systems the seeds of deadly disease from exposure, from inhaling mineral dust, dampness, hot and arid temperatures, and from the atmosphere in shops and factories charged with poisonous vapors. Here are causes that impoverish laborers, that handicap them in their struggle for life, and inflict upon them an aggregate of suffering and misery which it is easier to overlook than to estimate.

The employment of women and children away from the home, on a scale far beyond that of any former time, is indicative of a harder lot for the laborer. In 1883, 28,714 children under sixteen years of age were employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts, and the mothers and children earned one-third the support of the average working man's family. In 1881, 44 per cent of the work people in Massachusetts were children. In the United States in 1880, 1,118,356 children fifteen years of age and under were employed in all occupations. In Pennsylvania are "Herds of little children of all ages, from six years upward, at work in the coal-breakers, toiling in dirt, the air thick with carbon dust, from dawn to dark of every day in the week except Sunday. . . . There are no schools in the world where more evil is learned, or more innocence destroyed, than in the breakers."²

These facts have social, moral, and political bearings of startling significance; but we adduce them here simply to show the struggle of the bread-winner in the presence of colossal wealth.

Still more desperate is this struggle in Europe. Women and children of tender years are set to tasks the sight of

¹ "The Wages Question," pp. 36, 37, and note.

² "Our Country" (Strong), pp. 97, 98.

which is revolting. In 1870, at a meeting of social scientists in England, a gentleman exhibited a lump of clay weighing forty-three pounds, which he had taken off the head of a boy of nine years employed in a brick-yard. Another boy of nine years, employed in hardening and tempering crinoline steels, worked from seven A.M. till nine-thirty P.M. and often till twelve at night, and once or twice he had worked from seven A. M. through the day, all through the night, throughout all the next day till twelve o'clock at night. Children in England of six, eight, and ten years are driven in herds to fields, there to labor for twelve or fourteen hours under the burning sun or in the face of cold, cutting winds. In Merry England women harnessed with cattle may be seen toiling on the pit-banks and coke-hearths." ¹

The relative condition of the rich and poor is also indicated in the quality of food which constitutes their diet, and in the abodes which they inhabit. Professor Fawcett gives citations from official reports as follows:—

"Many a French factory hand never has anything better for his breakfast than a large slice of common sour bread rubbed over with an onion so as to give it a flavor." Again, "Meat is rarely tasted by the working classes in Holland. It forms no part of the bill of fare, either for the man or his family." In Belgium, "Very many have for their entire subsistence but potatoes with a little grease, brown or black bread, often bad, and for their drink a tincture of chicory." "To-day, in the west of England, it is impossible for an agricultural laborer to eat meat more than once a week." Of the peasants of Devon, "The laborer breakfasts on tea-kettle broth,—hot water poured on bread and flavored with onions; dines on bread and hard cheese at 2*d.* a pound, with cider very washy and sour; and sups on potatoes or cabbage greased with a tiny bit of fat bacon. He seldom more than sees or smells of butcher's meat." ²

Bear in mind that these are not isolated cases of poverty, but they apply to the great mass of working people in large

¹ "The Wages Question" (Walker), pp. 52, 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

sections of the world. Equally suggestive of their hard lot are the cramped and unsanitary abodes which they inhabit. We have referred to this evil in the cities as demanding special consideration; but in the country, especially in large portions of Europe, the laborer is housed scarcely better than the beasts of the field. "Canon Gridlestone says of the homes of the peasants of Devon (England). 'The cottages, as a rule, are not fit to house pigs in.' Of 309 cottages at Ramsbottom, near Bury, 'one of the best districts in Lancashire,' remarks Colonel Sykes, 137 had but one bedroom each, the aggregate occupants being 777; 172 had two bedrooms each, the aggregate occupants being 1,223. Some of the families occupying a single bedroom consisted of from 8 to 13 individuals. . . 'One-third of the population of Scotland, in 1861,' says Mr. Caird, 'lived in houses of one room only; another third, in houses of two rooms only.'" ¹ That is, only one-third of the families of Scotland lived in houses of more than two rooms.

The Poor Law Report of 1842 thus describes the homes of the peasants of Durham: They are "built of rubble or unhewn stone. The chimneys have lost half their original height, and lean on the roof with fearful gravitation. The rafters are evidently rotten and displaced, and the thatch, yawning to admit the wind and wet in some parts, and in all parts utterly unfit for its original purpose of giving protection from the weather, looks more like the top of a dunghill than a cottage. Such is the exterior; and when the hind comes to take possession, he finds it no better than a shed. The wet, if it happens to rain, is making a puddle on the earth floor. . . . They have no byre for their cows, nor sties for their pigs; no pumps or wells; nothing to promote cleanliness or comfort. The average size of these sheds is about 24 by 16. They are dark and unwholesome; the windows do not open, and many of them are not larger than 20 inches by 16; and into this place are crowded 8, 10, or even 12 persons." ²

Professor Walker, who cites these facts with no purpose

¹ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 61.

² As quoted *Ibid.*, p. 62.

to excite pity or to institute a comparison between social classes, but as a political economist, to show by what causes the efficiency of labor is impaired, says of the abodes of laborers, "A great part, if not the great majority, of the laborers of the world are to-day housed thus miserably, uncounted millions worse."¹ He also says the water they are compelled to drink is often dangerously impure, and he gives the following result of the chemical analysis of 140 specimens of water in the cities and towns of Scotland:—

Number grossly contaminated by sewage matter and decidedly unwholesome	104
Number less contaminated and less unwholesome	32
Number tinged with sewage matter	4
Number free from all contamination	0
<hr/>	
Total examined	140 ²

These facts and figures respecting the actual life of the poor reveal an amount of deprivation, hardship, and suffering that is appalling.

No statistical table can set forth the miseries which result from insufficient food and housing. The hard struggle for the bare necessities of life; the ceaseless anxiety; the continual gnawing of hunger, and exposure to cold and wet; the diseases engendered by these deprivations, often accompanied by inability to procure either physician or medicine; the sickening and the dying without anything worthy the name of sympathy and love; the hardening of the heart, the dwarfing of the body, and the despair of the soul,—these, with all the sorrows, tears, heart aching and breaking begotten of cruel want, can never be tabulated. But though they cannot be estimated in dollars and cents, they may not be disregarded in determining the relative condition of the poor. They are miseries from which the rich are happily removed. They are miseries whose social and moral significance arises entirely from the fact that they exist at a

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

time when the increase of wealth is unexampled. Men go hungry when granaries and warehouses are bursting with provisions; they are ill-clad and naked in the presence of stores and factories piled to the roof with clothing; they are cold when God has laid at their feet mines and mountains of fuel; robbed of their rightful inheritance, stripped and left half dead, they are passed by alike by the priest and Levite, who it is not unlikely are on their way to preach or lecture on "How to reach the masses."

Who or what is the cause of this social outrage? Are rich men as a class oppressive and unfeeling? No, they are, as a rule, kind hearted and generous. Is it from evils incident to transition periods in industrial development? These, doubtless, aggravate the mischief, but they are not the cause. The cause is the *capitalistic system* itself, whose normal working widens the gulf between rich and poor. Thorold Rogers says, "I am convinced that at no period of English history . . . was the condition of manual labor worse than it was in the years from 1782-1821, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortunes rapidly."

Capitalism utterly ignores the two tremendous facts, that some are weaker than others, and that selfishness, unrestrained by law, becomes tyranny. It is the law of the survival of the fittest, remorselessly applied to human beings. It utterly refuses to recognize the righteous principle contained in the words, "We, then, that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak."¹

Let us now examine the arguments put forward to meet this complaint of Socialism, that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer.

The one chiefly relied on is, that the poor have more than formerly; more wages, better clothing, food, and housing, and evidence of this is assumed to be proof that the rich are not growing richer and the poor poorer. Nobody disputes this, and the assertion is quite ridiculous.

The charge is not either that the poor are poorer, or the rich richer than formerly, but that the rich are richer *and*

¹ Rom. xvi.

the poor poorer; that is, the chasm between these classes is deepening and widening. The question is one of relativity; that is, it concerns the *relation existing between these classes* rather than the absolute condition of either class. The language of Rodbertus is, "As the productivity of social labor increases, the wages of the laboring classes constitute an ever-decreasing portion of the national product."¹ "This does not mean necessarily," says Professor Ely, "that what the laborer receives becomes absolutely smaller; only that it decreases relatively."

Lasselle says, "As capital grows, . . . so grows the presence of deep poverty seated hard by the gates of enormous wealth."² It is not the "deep poverty" alone or the "enormous wealth," but their *co-existence*, of which he is complaining.

Marx says of all the improvements of modern industry they are, "On the one hand, elements of historical progress and development in the economic civilization of society, but on the other are all means of civilized and refined exploitation of the laborer."³ That is, the whole of society is economically improved, including the laborer who, nevertheless is exploited.

Is it not clear that Socialists intend the relative and not the absolute condition of the poor in this charge against the capitalistic system? Arguments and statistics therefore adduced to show that the poor have more than formerly are not relevant.

This error vitiates the argument of Dr. Behrends, who quotes Mr. Mulhall, showing the increased earnings of the working class in England since 1688: he also shows that pauperism and the death rate have decreased and the condition of the poor generally improved within forty years,¹ all of which his opponents do not deny. His quotations from Thorold Rogers are to the same effect. Mr. Rogers says society in general has improved, but he does not even

¹ As quoted in "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 161.

² As quoted in "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 42.

³ "Contemporary Socialism" (Rae), p. 163.

⁴ "Socialism and Christianity," pp. 71, 79.

hint that the poor relatively to the rich are not growing poorer.

In this refutation, which is assumed to be complete, there is no pretence of showing that the rich are not growing richer, or that the rapidity of their enrichment is not separating them more and more from the poor. It is not even suggested that poverty is a relative term depending, not upon what one *has*, but upon what one *needs*. No attempt is made to show whether under new industrial conditions, necessities, both in quantity and kind, have not increased more rapidly than wages; a comparison which alone can show whether the laborer's condition has improved. These things, which are vital to a consideration of this Postulate, and which, if they tend to place working men at an increasing disadvantage, would cause, if operative there, a rebellion in hades, are not even touched upon.

The same writer asserts, by way of comparison, that "A good carpenter or mason can purchase a barrel of flour, giving him bread enough for a year, at the cost of a single day's labor."¹ As we read this statement we stepped directly across the street, where masons and carpenters were at work on a house. In answer to our inquiry, the carpenter said he received \$2.50, and the mason said he received \$3.50 per day, and these were prices for good workmen. We then read to them the statement already quoted, whereupon the carpenter said in a dialect, at least clear and concise, "It is the biggest lie that was ever told." Flour at retail on that day (September, 1888) was about \$5 per barrel. The statement therefore contained forty per cent of pure fiction. It labored under another infirmity: it purports to show from the wages received, "The present condition of the working classes" by giving the wages of skilled labor only, such as carpenters and masons.

The great body of the working classes are not skilled laborers. The average annual wages in Massachusetts of wage-workers who were heads of families, in 1883, was \$558.68,² which, allowing 312 working days in the year, was

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," pp. 76, 77.

² "Report of Bureau of Statistics," p. 461.

\$1.79 per day; while the expenses of their families were \$755.42, *which was \$195.74 more than they earned.* To make up this deficiency of about \$4.00 per week, the laborer's children were obliged to leave school and his wife home to engage in work.

But wages in Massachusetts are exceptionally high, and heads of families receive far more than the average laborer. If we take the average daily wages of the United States in 1880, the census tells us that, so far from being equivalent to "a barrel of flour," they amount to only \$1.11.

Strangely enough, Mr. Rae makes this same fallacy the foundation of an elaborate argument in his review of "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, who lays down at the outset the Postulate that the Rich are growing richer and the Poor poorer.

The general clearness and logical discrimination of Mr. Rae's work presents a marked contrast with his argument in this particular.

He disjoins the Postulate, which we have shown is one and inseparable. The very passage which Mr. Rae quotes from "Progress and Poverty" shows this. As for example, "I propose to seek the law which associated poverty with progress and increasing want with advancing wealth." It is the *association* that George intends.

He tells us at the outset that he does not mean that want absolutely increases. "I do not mean that the condition of the lower class has nowhere nor in anything improved." Again he says, "So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury, and make sharper the contrast between the house of Have and the house of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent."² It is inconceivable how any one can fail to understand Mr. George, who repeatedly explains that he is treating the words rich and poor, not as absolute but relative terms; that he is dealing not with quantities but proportions.

Notwithstanding this, Mr. Rae immediately proceeds to

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," Chapter ix.

² "Progress and Poverty," p. 9.

separate the members of the proposition, and to discuss them independently.

He says, "It is a plain question of fact — is poverty increasing? Are the poor really getting poorer?"¹ Thus he substitutes a purely imaginary question for the one in issue, and accordingly his reply is vitiated by the well-known logical fallacy of answering to the wrong point. Before entering upon his refutation, he offers a remarkable explanation of the social phenomena of increasing wealth and poverty. He says, "We imagine our train to be going back when a parallel train is going faster forward, and we are apt to take the general condition of mankind to be retrograding, when we fix our eyes exclusively on the rapid and remarkable enrichment of the fortunate few; . . . that he [George] had simply mistaken unequal rates of progress for simultaneous movements of progress and decline."²

"*Unequal rates of progress.*" This is precisely the complaint of his opponents. Mr. Rae here admits the entire question he is attempting to refute. The social conflict is between the "unequal rates of progress" in industry. These "unequal rates of progress" are hostile to the democracy and Christianity of the nineteenth century.

"When a parallel train is going faster forward" for the exclusive benefit of "the rapid and remarkable enrichment of the fortunate few," there will be trouble. Thus Mr. Rae himself lifts the lid of Pandora's box from which all industrial evils pour forth and spread themselves over the earth.

We have no contention with inequalities that result from different physical and mental endowments, but rather with those industrial institutions which, instead of equalizing the rates of progress among social classes, tend to widen the gulf between them.

After this concession the discussion would naturally end, since it is admitted, first, that the rich are growing richer; second, that they are advancing faster than the poor; third, the gulf between them and the poor is widening; fourth, this is taking place under the capitalistic system.

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 388.

² *Ibid.*, 386.

Notwithstanding this admission of the socialistic claim as to the *relative* condition of the two classes involved, he immediately proceeds to disjoin the members of the Postulate and treat the latter as if it were an absolute question. He says, "If poverty were increasing with the increase of wealth, it would show itself in an increase of pauperism or in a decline in the general standard of living among the working classes, or in the fall in the average duration of life."¹ The casual reading of this statement would win general assent; but a moment's examination will satisfy the thoughtful that its assumptions are not supported by facts.

Even if poverty is not absolutely increasing, Mr. Rae's argument, though plausible, involves a *non sequitur* for the following reasons:—

1. The general assumption which underlies and vitiates the entire statement is, that *poverty* is an absolute term rather than a relative one to be determined by a comparison of the conditions of social classes.

2. It is assumed that the decrease of pauperism in England proves that wealth and property are not relatively increasing. Let us see.

The poor law of England, enacted in the interests of wealth, resulted in converting the poor into paupers. Rich men in their greed overleaped themselves, and soon groaned under the burden of taxes to support a nation of paupers. Then, to relieve themselves, they enacted laws that shifted the burden of support upon the poor, who were thereby converted back again from pauperism to self-supporting poverty. Now, it is claimed that this last move on the part of capitalistic speculators in the poor which reduces the number of paupers, shows that the rich are not growing richer and the poor poorer. Thorold Rogers says, —

"The pauperism and the degradation of the English laborer were the result of a series of Acts of Parliament . . . which were designed . . . with the express purpose of compelling the laborer to work at the lowest rates of wages possible."²

"The English poor law, after all, was the outcome of great crimes committed by the government; . . . it also gave him [the peasant] as

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 389.

² "Work and Wages," p. 6.

a compensation for the policy which permitted entails and the accumulation of land in few hands, the right to be a pensioner on the soil, from all real and permanent share in which he was practically excluded. He had been robbed by the land-owner, and he was to be hereafter quartered on the occupier." ¹

He characterized the law as cruel and insolent, enforced by magistrates "whose interest it was to screw the pittance (of the laborer) down to the lowest conceivable margin, and to inform the stinted recipient that when he had starved on that during the days of his strength, others must work to maintain him in sickness or old age." ²

He tells us that the law of parochial settlement enacted in the interest of the landlord and the trades, "consummated the degradation of the laborer." ³ It reduced him to a serf; it was heyday to wealthy land-owners. To prevent an increase of wages, able-bodied laborers were given an allowance by overseers of the poor, and were thus forced into pauperism. Paupers were better housed and fed than independent laborers. "Pauperism became a remunerative employment." The honest worker was laughed at as a fool. Wives reproached their husbands for refusing to become chargeable to the parish.

"Average wages were only three dollars a week, while the working pauper received four dollars. It passed into a proverb, 'Poor is the diet of a pauper, poorer is the diet of the small-rate-payer, poorest is the diet of the independent laborer.'" ⁴ Thus we are assured that the pauper is better off than the independent laborer, but that the decrease of pauperism and the increase of poor, independent laborers show that poverty is not increasing with the increase of wealth.

When, as was the case in one parish, the whole land was offered to the paupers and declined on the ground that their condition, as independent laborers, would be worse than pauperism, it is useless to argue that the forcing of these poor workmen out of pauperism into a more miserable and

¹ "Work and Wages," p. 424, 425. ² *Ibid.*, p. 425. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁴ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 234.

degrading self-support shows that they are better off. The point now is, not whether they *are better off*, but whether the decrease of pauperism in England *necessarily shows it*.

"Justice is a mockery, and philanthropy an economic blunder, when, as the report of 1834 says, 'the diet of the workhouse exceeds that of the cottage, and the diet of the jail is more profuse than even that of the workhouse.' Under such a *régime* the pauper and the criminal belong to the privileged classes."¹

It is in order for Mr. Rae to show how the ejection of this "privileged class" from the palace car of English pauperism and stowing it away in the baggage-car of self-support, with its meaner diet and shelter and less "remunerative employment," shows that it is better off; in other words, how the decrease of pauperism shows that the poor are not growing poorer.

The poor rates in 1817 reached the enormous sum of \$40,000,000. In 1834 they were \$31,000,000, and England was on the brink of bankruptcy. The poor rates were devouring the land. Then her capitalists arose in their distress, and Parliament, always their ready tool, entered resolutely upon the work of relieving them.

The report of 1839 gives us the keynote of the movement. It says, "The fundamental principle with respect to the legal relief of the poor is, that the condition of the pauper ought to be, on the whole, less eligible than that of the independent laborer." In attempting to squeeze the laborers to the last extremity, they have been pauperized. The capitalistic gun was loaded too heavily, and its tremendous charge caused it to kick grievously, while the poor at the other end were not only unharmed, but "privileged classes."

Things must be reversed. Laborers must be turned away from the green pastures and still waters of English pauperism into the dry and thirsty land of self-support, where no water is.

The assumption, then, that if the poor were growing poorer it would show itself in an increase of pauperism, is

¹ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 238.

not only not sustained, but certain facts go to show that the physical well-being of English laborers was improved by the transition from self-support to pauperism.

We are not discussing the question of pauperism in general, or on its merits, but simply and solely with regard to the assumption with which we are dealing. In general the decrease of pauperism, *ceteres paribus*, would show improvement in the condition of the poor.

The case of England is peculiar. Pauperism is actually increasing in our own and other countries.

3. Mr. Rae assumes that if poverty were increasing, the standard of living among working classes would be "lower," whereas it is higher, which shows that poverty is decreasing. Does this necessarily follow? It is admitted that the standard of living among the poor is higher. Henry George concedes it; but he says that the fact that the city beggar may now enjoy many more things than the back-woods farmer, does not prove the beggar better off than the farmer. Socialists concede that the standard of living is higher. Tramps now wear shoes, and beggars clothes that kings and princes of former times might envy. Shall we thence infer that the condition of tramps and beggars is superior to former kings on this account?

The standard of living is higher for all classes. That more working men have more than formerly shows that the conditions of life are changed. New social and industrial movements have greatly multiplied the things included in the phrase necessities of life.

Indeed, Mr. Rae makes a concession which rebuts his own assumption. He says, "It is true that as the general standard of living rises, people feel the pinch of poverty at a higher level than before, and become pauperized for the want of comforts that are now necessary, but which formerly few ever dreamt of possessing."¹ That is, poverty on a "higher level" or a higher standard of living does not, after all, show that the poor are not getting poorer. The question now is, not whether the poor are getting poorer,

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 389.

but whether a *higher standard of living proves that they are not*.

This concession, due to the spirit of candor which characterizes our author, touches hard pan in the social question. It is not what men *have*, but what they *require*, that determines their condition.

"A man's poverty," says Rodbertus as paraphrased by Professor Ely, "does not depend so much upon what he has absolutely, as upon the relation in which his possessions stand to those of others about him, and upon the extent to which they allow him to share in the progress of the age. A cannibal in the Sandwich Islands is not poor because he has no coat; an Englishman is. When the vast majority were unable to read, a man was not poor or oppressed because he was unable to purchase books, but a German who to-day has not the means to do so is both poor and oppressed."¹

As men are civilized their wants increase. If they increase faster than the means of gratifying them, the conditions of poverty are present. Such is now the case. Dr. Josiah Strong well says, "It is very true that within a century there has been a great multiplication of the comforts of life among the masses; but the question is *whether that increase has kept pace with the multiplication of wants*."

"The mechanic of to-day who has much, may be poorer than his grandfather who had little."²

That is, the poor may be getting poorer and still enjoy a higher standard of living. Dr. Strong insists with us that "poverty is something relative not absolute. I do not mean simply that a rich man is poor by the side of one richer. That man is poor who lacks the means of supplying what seems to him reasonable wants."³

4. A fourth assumption is that increased poverty would show itself in shortening "the average duration" of working men's lives. Whereas "The Recent Decline in the English Death Rate" shows that within twenty years end-

¹ "French and German Socialism," p. 164.

² "Our Country," p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102. a.

ing with 1880 there has been "a gain of two years in the average duration of life." These are striking statistics. If we can gain two years of life in every twenty-five, men may yet become immortal.

It appears also that the discontent of laborers has increased *pari passu* with the increased duration of their lives. That is, we are asked to believe that the more improved the laborer's condition, and the longer his life, the more discontented and rebellious he becomes. The logical snag, of *reductio ad absurdum*, stands in the way of this reasoning. But, more seriously, we deny that a decline in the death rate necessarily shows that the poor are not growing poorer. The operation of other causes might easily produce this result.

The knowledge of medicine has been extended. Steam transportation renders famine well-nigh impossible. Hygiene has made great progress. Sanitary science is understood and applied as never before. Epidemic diseases are to a great extent under control. The standard of living has been raised. Human life has become sacred. Never since the days of primeval history could men suffer so much and live so long as at the present day. Many forces are at work which tend to prolong human life. We are told that the thirty thousand locomotives in North America send over 53,000,000,000 cubic yards of vapor into the atmosphere every week to be returned in the form of rain; enough to produce a good rain fall every twenty-four hours. It is also estimated that the number of other non-conducting engines in use send eight times as much more vapor into the air every week.

In connection with this theory the following statement is suggestive: "The prolonged wet season is thought in England to have been conducive to the general health. The constant and copious rain has scoured the sewers and washed the town so that the death rate in London has fallen to fifteen in the thousand."

But theories aside, it will not be questioned, that the prolonging of human life might be due to the operation of many causes other than those connected with wealth and poverty.

The assumption, therefore, that "A fall in the average duration of human life" would necessarily occur if the poor were growing poorer, must be taken at least *cum grano salis*.

5. Another assumption is that if the aggregate of wages "is a larger proportion of the aggregate produce of the country,"¹ the poor are not growing poorer. This does not follow. Suppose fifty per cent of the entire product goes to 100 laborers, and at a future time seventy-five per cent to 200 laborers; are not the laborers worse off?

If, then, the number of laborers increase faster than production, or should complex industrial and social conditions disproportionately increase the cost of living, the poor might be continually growing poorer, even though they received in wages a larger share of the aggregate production. Numerous other factors enter into the question involved in this assumption which render it inconclusive.

6. Still another assumption is that if the families of the rich and working classes respectively now receive about the same proportion of the national product as they did at the beginning of the century, it shows that the rich are not growing richer, and the poor poorer. Does this conclusion follow? Only on the further assumption that the number of the rich has increased *pari passu* with the poor; *which is contrary to the fact* as shown by statistics which Mr. Rae adduces for other purposes.

The whole number of families in England in 1800 was 1,780,000. Of this number 1,117,000 belonged to the working class. In 1883 the whole number of families was 6,575,000, while 4,629,000 of these belonged to the working class. That is, while working families have increased nine per cent faster than rich families, there has been no corresponding increase in their proportion of the national product; while rich families receive the same proportion, notwithstanding their diminished numbers, as at the beginning of the century.

It would be difficult to find more convincing proof that the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer, than is afforded by these figures adduced by Mr. Rae himself.

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 397.

This general consideration is doubtless what Mr. George intends when he says, "I do not mean that the quantity of wealth obtained by laborers as wages is necessarily less, but that the proportion which it bears to the whole product is necessarily less."

Mr. Rae, with a formidable array of statistics, logic, and sarcasm, makes a vigorous assault upon this statement; but it contains, in the sense intended by Mr. George, a most important truth. It is worthy of attention that Mr. Rae endeavors to show that the poor are not only *absolutely*, but *relatively to the rich*, growing richer.

But perhaps the most remarkable feature of Mr. Rae's refutation is the following inconsistency. He first declares that this Postulate as to the increase of wealth simultaneously with poverty is a delusion. He says, "We imagine our train to be going back when a parallel train is going faster forward." The real explanation of this social phenomenon is the "unequal rates of progress."

That is, the poor are not going back, but *the rich are going forward relatively very much faster*. But soon it is boldly asserted, and statistics are introduced to show, that the poor are receiving a larger and larger proportion of the national product; that is, the *poor are progressing faster than the rich*. Of these parallel trains, first the capitalists', then the laborers' train is going the faster. Of two contradictory propositions one must be true and the other false.

We have dwelt at length upon this part of the discussion because the fallacy in question is deeply seated in the popular mind.

Newspapers are continually comparing the present high rate of wages with the miserable pittance of former times, and it is hastily inferred that the laborers' charge that the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer, is thereby shown to be untrue.

Writers whose predilections are on the side of capital, good men and women who have merely glanced at the social question, people with little sympathy for the working classes, readily take it for granted that, if wages have

absolutely increased, laborers have no cause for complaint, and the present social disturbance is due to caprice or sheer ugliness.

Let it be understood, then, that the Postulate does not deny that wages have not increased, or that laborers with all other classes of society have *absolutely* more than ever before; for an author to assume the contrary is to misrepresent Socialism, and to mislead the popular mind.

We admit that the man of straw which the writers we have been reviewing have set up is ably attacked, but the brilliancy of the pugilism should not obscure the fact that the antagonist is a purely imaginary character.

This third Postulate of Socialism, then, according to its intent and meaning, is true. The rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer. Capital is being centralized, and not diffused as Mr. Rae claims.

Dr. Theodore Woolsey, who holds many points in common with Mr. Rae, admits, "This enormous accumulation of capital in a few hands."

It is true, as Mr. George says, "In the United States it is clear that squalor and misery, and the vices and crimes that spring from them, everywhere increase as the village grows to the city. . . . It is in the older and richer sections of the Union that pauperism and distress are becoming most painfully apparent: If there is less deep poverty in San Francisco than in New York, is it not because San Francisco is yet behind New York in all that both cities are striving for? When San Francisco reaches the point where New York now is, who can doubt that there will also be ragged and barefooted children on her streets?"¹

No array of statistics, no subtilty of logic, or brilliancy of rhetoric, can disprove that "the tramp comes with the locomotive, and almshouses and prisons are as surely the marks of 'material progress' as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches."² Whoever has eyes to see and ears to hear knows that these extremes of wealth and poverty are developing and increasing under the existing industrial régime.

¹ "Progress and Poverty," p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

When, notwithstanding the marvellous increase of production, one-fifth of the population, as is the case in England, are insufficiently clothed,¹ and nearly half the laborers are children of fifteen years and under, as is the case in Massachusetts (p. 100); when, as we have shown, the annual wages of the average working man at the head of a family are \$195.74 less than the sum necessary to support his family (p. 106). and when, at the same time, millionnaires are daily multiplying, it requires no great credulity to believe that the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer; and we can well afford to be charitable toward those who despair of any remedy so long as the principles of the capitalistic system remain unmodified.

Professor Walker, after showing that "the degradation of labor" is constantly imminent, and that the so-called economical harmonies of our industrial system are practically impotent to protect the laborer, says, "The tendency of purely economic forces is continually to aggravate the disadvantages from which any person or class may suffer. . . . Emphatically is it true that the curse of the poor is their poverty. Cheated in quantity, quality, and price in whatever they purchase, they are notoriously unable to get as much proportionately for their little as the rich for their larger means. Economically speaking, this must ever remain true and *operate with increasing power*. Moral forces may indeed enter in to restore the equilibrium; . . . but it cannot be controverted that the tendency of purely economical forces is *to widen the differences existing in the constitution of industrial society.*"² The italics are ours.

This is a serious arraignment of the capitalistic system. It lays the axe at the root of the tree: it suggests and seems to us to say, that unless the present system is modified the rich will continue to grow richer and the poor poorer. "Moral forces" will doubtless continue to be employed "to restore the equilibrium," but the time is at hand when "moral forces" will not be merely restorative; they will concern themselves not only with counteracting the

¹ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

effects of unrighteous institutions, by means of the current capitalized ethical platitudes and pious exhortation to endurance, or crumbs thrown from the table of charity to allay social and industrial irritation, but they will address themselves to the work of prevention; the seed of the woman will cause His followers to bruise the head of the serpent, instead of following him around and stepping gently now and then on the end of his tail, or trying to patch up the gaps which his frightful ravages are making in the social organism.

Equality is preached while inequality is practised. Fraternity, the essence of which is "each for all and all for each," is everywhere extolled, while economic individualism, the essence of which is every man for himself, is practised with unabated zeal.

Liberty is proclaimed, while in due form of law and even with prayer-book in hand, the strong, the rich, and the wise oppress the weak, the poor, and the ignorant. It is this complacent profession of God and the faithful service of Satan, which is one of the main props of capitalism, and which must be abandoned before Socialism can be realized.

IV. — *The Wages of Labor furnish a bare Subsistence.*

"It is found that, throughout countries comprising a large part of the human race, the wages given and taken, not only provide subsistence so scanty and so little nourishing that the population become stunted and more or less deformed and ineffective in labor, but that, even so, a large part of all who are born die in infancy and early childhood from the effects of privation." — PROFESSOR FRANCIS A. WALKER.

A fourth Postulate of Socialism is that under the wage-system the Wages of Labor furnish a bare Subsistence.

Marx declared that the *bourgeoisie*, or capitalist class, exploited the laborer "of property, for they treated him as a ware, buying him in the cheapest market for the cost of his production, that is to say, the cost of his living, and taking from him the whole surplus of his work, after deducting the value of his subsistence. Under the system of wage-labor, it could not be otherwise. Wages could never,

by economical laws, rise above subsistence; and while wage labor created property, it created it always for the capitalist, and never for the laborer; and in fact the latter only lived at all, so far as it was for the interest of the governing class, the *bourgeoisie*, to permit him. Class rule and wage-labor must be swept away, for they were radically unjust.”¹

Lassalle declared that the wage-laborer could never get more than just enough to keep body and soul together. This law of wages, however, did not originate with Socialists. Adam Smith, Ricardo, and all leading economists had taught that the rate of wages was determined by the cost of producing labor; that is, the cost of subsistence according to the standard of living prevailing at any given time and place among laborers. “This the economical law of natural or necessary wages — ‘the iron and cruel law,’ which Lassalle declared absolutely precluded the wage-laborers, — i. e., ninety-six per cent of the population, — from all possibility of ever improving their condition or benefiting in the least from the growing productivity of their own work.”²

Lassalle exposed the injustice of this “iron and cruel law” of wages which is not merely incidental, but lies in the essence of the wage-system. With burning eloquence, with a martyr’s zeal, and with a wealth of learning and culture unsurpassed, he finally roused the German laborer to a sense of his wrongs and to a determination to redress them that threatened to revolutionize society and caused kings to tremble on their thrones. In discussing this Postulate, that Wages furnish a bare Subsistence, several points need to be borne in mind.

1. The wages of skilled labor are not to be taken as a criterion.

2. In a new country and in a progressive state of industry, as in the United States, the rule admits of many exceptions, not only as to individuals, but as to entire communities.

3. It is not intended to deny that, even in older coun-

¹ As paraphrased “Contemporary Socialism” (Rae), p. 130.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

tries, individual laborers of exceptional ability or circumstance may not save a part of their wages and become themselves capitalists.

4. The phrase, bare subsistence, has no fixed meaning. It does not convey precisely the same idea to any two individuals, even of the same time and place. This fact renders clear thought, exact speech, and satisfactory conclusions in this branch of economic discussion well-nigh impossible.

5. This phrase is not to be taken in a literal sense. Cattle and swine may be sustained on a bare subsistence literally understood, but not so man. The lowest classes cannot subsist on mere physical necessities; they have mental, moral, and social natures, which, however dwarfed, must be taken into account, when the phrase bare subsistence is used in connection with them.

6. By a bare subsistence is intended a standard of living which, though not limited to mere physical necessities, is yet so low that laborers are just able to live and propagate their class.

In popular discussions of this Postulate nothing is more common than the ignoring of one or more of these six points; hence the wide difference of opinion and unsatisfactory conclusions.

It will be conceded that if with increasing wealth, wages tend to furnish only a bare subsistence, the truth is one which, when mixed with the thorough and rapidly spreading democratic spirit, would easily make an explosive powerful enough to blow existing social institutions into atoms.

The question, then, is, does the wage-system furnish only a bare subsistence to the laborer?

1. Political Economists declare that such is the fact.

Ricardo says, "The natural price of labor is that price which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution."¹

John Stuart Mill says that "this minimum rate of

¹ As quoted in "French and German Socialism" (Ely), pp. 197-198.

wages — either the lowest with which it is physically possible to keep up the population, or the lowest with which the people will choose to do” — which Ricardo declares everywhere exists, “is itself liable to vary.” That is, the minimum may be still further lowered, and the condition of the laborer be permanently deteriorated.¹

In his preface to “Work and Wages,” Thorold Rogers says, “But except for about fifty years in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the wages of labor [in England] have been a bare subsistence constantly supplemented by the poor rate, till in modern times a considerable amelioration in the condition of some kinds of labor, owing, I believe, to a peculiar cause, has been effected.” The “peculiar cause,” as he explains, is the combination of laborers, by which the degrading tendency of the wage-system is counteracted.

The eminent economist, Professor J. E. Cairnes, despairing of any improvement in the condition of laborers under the present wage-system, says, “It appears to me that the condition of any substantial improvement of a permanent kind in the laborer’s lot, is that the separation of industrial classes into *laborers* and *capitalists* shall not be maintained, that the laborer shall cease to be a mere laborer — in a word, that *profit* shall be brought to re-enforce the wages fund.”²

There is scarcely an economist of note who does not admit that under the wage-system, laborers are oppressed and that the tendency of economical forces is rather to increase than diminish such oppression.

2. Capitalism Necessitates this Law of Wages.

Rodbertus has shown the philosophical necessity, under the capitalistic *régime*, of wages being but bare subsistence. “The working man,” he says, “brings on the market a perishable merchandise, namely, his labor. If he have neither land nor capital to employ his labor, he must offer it to those who can make use of it. How much will they give for his services ?

¹ As quoted in “French and German Socialism” (Ely), p. 199.

² “Some Leading Principles,” etc., p. 339.

"Forced by competition to produce at the least possible cost, they will give no more than what is strictly necessary, but what is strictly necessary is what is needed to enable the laborer to subsist and to perpetuate his kind."¹

Suppose an employer with one employee gets a product worth \$100, and of this pays the employee \$50, and keeps \$50 himself: then he puts in a machine which doubles the product. How will the \$200 now be divided?

The employee will receive the same wages as before, \$50, and the employer \$150. This is the result of the system. Before the improved process, the laborer received half the product; after it, only one quarter. As productivity of labor increases, therefore the relative share of labor is less. Increased productivity of labor, however, cheapens cost: commodities sell for less, and so *real* wages are increased, that is, the laborer is receiving more than enough to sustain him. Competition among laborers, however, soon takes away this increase, and so he is forced to take what will barely keep him, while the capitalist grows rich. There is no help for this under the existing order.

The capitalist cannot do otherwise. The surplus gets into his hands unconsciously, as it were, because labor competes with itself.

If I hire labor as cheaply and sell goods as dearly as I can (and any other policy is suicidal), I get a profit out of my help in the shape of congealed labor, which equals commodities or capital, in spite of myself. What the men have really earned slips out of their hands into mine, and no one is at fault for the exploitation. All they get will be a bare Subsistence.

3. Statistics show that Wages furnish but a bare Subsistence.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, in 1883, disclosed the fact that the average working man at the head of a family earned \$1.79 per day, while his expenses were \$2.42 per day, or \$195.74 for the year, *less than his earnings*. It should be borne in mind that this sum was less than the amount required for the baldest necessities of life; while the

¹ "Socialism of To-day" (Laveleye), p. 16.

phrase bare subsistence calls for supplies that minister to other than the mere animal wants of man.

With a minimum of such supplies, subsistence and the rearing of a family may be accompanied with a depth of poverty which degrades and brutalizes. Mr. Lawrence Grönlund shows from the United States census reports, that during the thirty years ending 1880, the net product of manufactures in this country increased from \$437,000,000, to \$1,834,000,000, or more than 400 per cent, while the average yearly wages increased only from \$248 to \$346, about forty per cent. That is, wealth products increased 400, but wages only forty per cent.¹

Thus under the wage-system, in a period of unexampled prosperity, working men received a small proportion of the increasing wealth of the nation.

It is an open secret that in this free, progressive, and prosperous Republic, the unskilled laborer can no longer support his family, much less provide for them that style of living including moderate educational, religious, and social advantages which is deemed necessary for one to be regarded as a worthy and respectable citizen.

This fact is staggering to sober thought. If the wage-system so oppresses labor in the green tree of young, growing, and democratic America, what may be expected of it in the dry tree of stagnant and caste-bound European society?

The English workman in the year 1879 received only \$178. The income of the United Kingdom was \$5,325,000,000. Of this sum 12,000,000 laborers received \$2,140,000,000, while 3,000,000 other people received \$3,185,000,000, and of these, 9,300 individuals received \$100,000 each, or an aggregate of nearly half as much as all the 12,000,000 laborers.² Ten years later, in 1888, there were 14,500,000 laborers in England whose wages were less than \$2.50 per week and there were 7,000,000 paupers. Think of a system of industry, that in rich and merry England forces into the poverty of living on \$2.50 per week,

¹ "Co-operative Commonwealth," p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

more than half the entire population and into pauperism more than one fourth!¹

It is not, however, so much the growing apart of the rich and poor as the startling fact, that in enlightened and cultured England it is considered a just and Christian thing for one man to roll in luxury on \$320 per day, while his brother man is struggling for life on 56 cents per day.

We have here the conditions of social revolution, and, though it may for a time be averted by a false philosophy, munificent charities, accommodating legislation, a subsidized press, a temporizing pulpit, and by other temporary expedients, the slow grinding-mill of the gods will yet turn out its grist of social justice to working men.

4. The Fierce Competition among Laborers tends to reduce Wages to a bare Subsistence.

Why, then, it may be asked, is the supply of laborers so abundant?

Because a bare subsistence, involving great privation and suffering, will not prevent laborers from marrying and rearing children. It is true, "and pity 'tis 'tis true," that working men are everywhere bidding against each other for work, by accepting wages which impoverish themselves and enrich capitalists.

In 1826 Thomas R. Malthus, an English political economist, published "An Essay on the Principle of Population," the object of which was to show that population increases in geometrical ratio, while food can increase only in an arithmetical ratio; that is, population increases faster than subsistence. The result is that population must be checked; and this is effected by vice, misery, and prudential or moral restraint. This theory is known as Malthusianism. The vice necessary to limit population, and which is regarded as a preventative check, consists principally in doing away with marriage by prostitution, and the destruction of children by foeticide. The misery, which is regarded as a positive check, consists in hunger and cold and over-exercution, which increases infant mortality and shortens the duration of adult life. The significance of this theory lies in

¹ "Springfield Daily Union," January, 1888.

the fact, that since the masses of men have not sufficient virtue to practise prudential restraint, population must increase, and as subsistence cannot be provided for all, the dreadful alternative of *vice and misery is a social necessity*.

Malthusianism theoretically and ultimately would seem to be the most tremendous fact of sociology.

Darwin says, "There is no exception to the rule that every organic being naturally increases at so high a rate that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair. . . . The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of all known animals; . . . it begins to breed when thirty years old, and goes on breeding till ninety years old, bringing forth six young in the interval and surviving till one hundred years old; if this be so after a period of from seven hundred and forty to seven hundred and fifty years, there would be nearly 19,000,000 elephants alive descended from the first pair. Even slow-breeding man has doubled in twenty-five years, and at this rate, in less than a thousand years, there would literally not be standing-room for his progeny."¹

Although practically the world at large has not yet reached the point where food cannot be increased sufficiently to supply its inhabitants, yet certain localities have reached this point, and in these the horrid conditions are realized in the hunger, squalor, disease, and premature death of multitudes. This wretchedness, however, is not in consequence of any actual scarcity of subsistence.

Mr. Henry George says, "The vice and misery are shown to spring either from unsocial ignorance and rapacity, or from bad government, unjust laws, or destructive warfare."²

It is true that there is an abundance in these same localities, and their wealth could command an instant supply of necessities for all the people; it is also true that there are unoccupied and fertile fields in other parts of the world, to which, in theory, the poor might go; yet in the nature of things, the rich will not share with the poor, and the

¹ "Origin of Species," p. 51.

² "Progress and Poverty," p. 95.

poor cannot if they would, and many would not if they could, migrate to more favorable localities. When, in a great city like London, the poor cannot get bread, they will still breed, and therefore vice and misery must operate to check population. This is practically Malthusianism, at least for London. That it should be allowed to exist in any country, when so large a portion of land is unoccupied and untilled, is a burning shame to the industrial system, the Christianity, and the civilization of the nineteenth century.

In refuting the theory that population tends to increase faster than subsistence, Mr. George asks this question, which is certainly pertinent, if Malthusianism is to be regarded as a social justification or an excuse for the vice and misery that now exist in consequence of poverty. "How is it, then, that this globe of ours, after all the thousands, and it is now thought millions, of years that man has been upon the earth, is yet so thinly populated? How is it, then, that so many of the hives of human life are now deserted, that once cultivated fields are rank with jungle, and the wild beast licks her cubs where once were busy haunts of men?"¹ It is pertinent to inquire, however, before drawing conclusions, what is to be the effect on population of modern democracy and invention. This question is already receiving some attention. Should it appear that the political, moral, and industrial revolution which is in progress will result in increasing mouths faster than food, the problem of population will be one of the most serious with which society will have to deal.

We have introduced this theory, however, not so much to discuss its merits, as because in the minds of multitudes it accounts for the continual and excessive supply of laborers, which renders competition among them so fierce that wages are kept at the minimum.

These are the steps: low wages are due to competition; competition is due to the multitude of laborers; the multitude of laborers is due to the natural increase of population; the natural increase of population outruns the means

¹ "Progress and Poverty," p. 96.

of subsistence; hence it is a social necessity that human beings should cease to be born, and those born should die prematurely. But the cessation of births and premature deaths can be effected only by vice and misery. Vice and misery therefore are necessary evils. Society is powerless to prevent, and hence is not responsible for, their existence. Malthus says, "The man born into the world whose family cannot support him, and whose labor is not in demand, must take himself away. For him there is no cover laid at nature's table." Life is thus reduced to a struggle for existence; it is a hand-to-hand fight between individuals, and the spoil rightfully belongs to the victor. The economical name for this species of warfare is competition. Competition, therefore, is simply a law of nature.

Now, this hard and heathenish conclusion of political economy does not satisfy the Christian conscience. The chain of reasoning seems logical and complete, but the heart revolts against its outcome. There is a defective link somewhere. This link we believe to be competition. Competition is the offending Achan that brings disaster upon God's army of wage-workers; and it may be that God is saying to us as he said to his people of old, "Neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed thing from among you."

But competition is a fundamental principle of political economy; it is the Alpha and Omega of the present industrial system. It requires the martyr spirit to attack it. To commit one's self against it is to throw overboard the whole cargo of economic doctrines that have been staple for centuries, and to necessitate the construction, *de novo*, of a political economy in harmony with the idea of social justice which prevails at the present day.

Perhaps the wisest service that can be rendered is to expose the glaring defects of competition, and so gradually prepare the minds of men for the abolition or modification of the institution.

Professor Walker denies "That competition is so far perfect that the laborer, as producer, always realizes the highest wages which the employer can afford to pay, or

else, as consumer, is recompensed in the lower price of commodities for any injury he may chance to suffer as producer."¹ He claims that economical forces oppress certain classes; and since these cannot be taken out from under the operation of economical laws, the moral forces of intelligence, frugality, sobriety, etc., must be invoked to enable them to resort to the best market which will give scope and sway to the beneficent agencies of competition."²

This seems to say that the economical force of competition oppresses laborers, and is opposed to moral forces, and yet is a "beneficent" principle. We have faith to believe that oppressed classes can and will be taken out from under the operation of economical laws that oppress them, not merely by setting moral forces to counteract these laws, but by their suppression.

The case as to laborers and competition stands thus. Several laborers of intelligence, frugality, and sobriety, stand ready to take every place that is able to pay wages sufficient to support a man and his family in a manner that entitles them to be regarded as worthy and respectable citizens: only one, however, can have the place. The question is, who of them shall live, and who starve? They begin to underbid each other. The employer gets the benefit of this cruel competition, and finally pays such wages as furnish to the laborer a bare subsistence.

It is difficult to see how, as Professor Walker affirms, "Mobility," real "Freedom of movement," facilitating a resort to the best market, would remedy this state of things or make competition perfect.

Where the best markets exist, there the evils of competition are multiplied and intensified; they seem to be inherent in the wage system.

Dr. Gladden says, "A bare support is all that the economical forces, working unhindered, will guarantee to the laborer. So long as competition is the sole arbiter of his destiny, that is about all he will get."³ It is important that we have a clear idea of what competition is.

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 410.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³ "Applied Christianity," p. 64.

Professor Walker defines it thus: "Competition expresses the desire and the effort of the buyer to buy as cheaply, and of the seller to sell as dearly, of the one to give as little and of the other to get as much as he can; and inasmuch as every man is at once buyer and seller, we say he gives as little and gets as much as the existing conditions of industry allow."¹ What is the moral quality of this "desire and effort" to give *as little* and get *as much* as you *can* out of your neighbor? How does it appear beside the command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," or the injunction, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of another"?

In competition every man's sword is against his brother. It is a fight: get *all you can* and give the *least you can*! It is said if competition was perfect, all competitors would get their fair share and harmony would result. So if two pugilists succeeded in pummelling each other about equally, it would be declared a draw game, and the prize money would be equally divided between the competitors, and the result would be pugilistic harmony. But the economical harmonies fail to harmonize. So long as men are physically and mentally unequal, the *all-you-can* doctrine means victory to some, and death to others.

The phrase perfect competition is a solecism. The more perfectly matched the competitors in the struggle the more disastrous the consequences.

The essence of competition is self-interest, the essence of self-interest is selfishness, and the essence of selfishness is sin, and "Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." Competition, therefore, is death; and to make it more perfect, would be to intensify the agonies of the millions now struggling in the clutches of the insatiate monster.

Over against this all-you-can-against-your-brother doctrine of competition, we place the humane and divine principle set forth in this question which God puts in the mouth of the prophet, "Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?"¹

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 157.

² Mal. ii. 10.

5. The suffering that exists among working classes tends to show that wages furnish only a bare subsistence. We refer the reader to pages 99-109 and following for the evidence in detail of this suffering.

The want of proper and sufficient food engenders nearly all the ills that flesh is heir to. Men do not drop down dead from starvation; it would often be a "blessing big with mercy" if they did. The process of starvation is slow, torturing the mind, and breeding disease. The victim dies by inches, and thus suffers a living death. Professor Walker accurately describes the inception and progress of starvation. When for a family of seven, wages will no longer buy sufficient food, one victim will not be selected from the seven and set apart to starve while the rest are fed, but all will try to live on scantier food. Laborers can live for single days on what they could not live for a week; they can live for a single week on what they could not for all the weeks of the month; and they can live for years on one-half what would be necessary to keep them in robust health and strength for efficient labor.¹

The aged and the young are less able to endure privation. "Yet even when each succumbs to his turn, the nursing child and the young man in his strength, the chances are that it is to some *distinct form of disease for which privation has prepared the way*. Thus in Ireland, when the annual number of deaths rose from 77,754, the average of the three preceding years, to 122,889 in 1846, and 249,335 in 1847, it was from fever, and not from literal starvation, that the great mass of victims died."²

The amount of suffering, however, endured by laborers and their families is not to be estimated by the number of deaths from privation, but from the hundred-fold larger number who continue to live in privation. The starving far exceed the starved: in any single year the ill-clad and sheltered far exceed those dead from exposure and cold.

"Professor Fawcett quotes the poor-law inspectors [Great Britain] as stating that one-fifth in number of the population are insufficiently clothed. Insufficiency of clothing means,

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 111.

² *Ibid.*

of course, feebleness of working and excessive sickness and mortality.”¹ In the city of Leeds, with a population of more than 250,000, not a single laborer or mechanic owns his own house.² In Massachusetts, in 1875, only one male laborer in a hundred owned a home. The case is still worse at the present time and is daily growing worse. Is this evil to grow till it reaches the frightful proportions that exist in New York and London? When the ordinary laborer can no longer own a house, he will be ill-housed. To be insufficiently clothed and ill-housed is to suffer not only physically, but mentally and morally to a degree that renders life a burden.

“It is not to die,” says Carlyle, “or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched; many men have died; all men must die. But it is to live miserably, we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heartworn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated, girt in with a cold universal *laissez-faire*.” It is this condition of suffering on the part of laborers that supports the Postulate that wages furnish a bare subsistence. We are accustomed to commiserate the wretchedness of laborers in feudal times, and to exhort the discontented wage-workers of the present day to contrast their improved condition with that of serfs and vassals; but Mr. Thorold Rogers, a most competent and impartial witness, declares “that the English workman was better off four hundred years ago than he is to-day, — not only relatively, but positively better off; that the real wages were higher then than now.”³ In statements like these Socialism finds abundant reason for its arraignment of the wage-system.

It is conceded that in the working of this system, wages cannot be permanently raised. Laborers, therefore, must continue to suffer hunger and cold, nakedness and death. Can there be any doubt that, unless relief comes from sources not now apparent, the grand jury of the people will yet find a true bill of indictment against the wage-

¹ As quoted in “Work and Wages” (Rogers), p. 58.

² “Springfield Daily Union,” Sept. 25, 1888.

³ As quoted in “Applied Christianity” (Gladden), p. 63.

system, and bring it to trial and condemnation before the bar of an enlightened public opinion?

The Postulate under consideration appears to be an outcome of the principle which regards labor as a commodity, the price of which is to be determined by the cost of production. Ricardo and his school regarded this principle as an economic axiom. It is admitted that the present industrial system, with its formulated political economy, supports this theory, and eminent scholars and philanthropists have seemed to sanction it. Adam Smith says, "The real price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it."¹ Mr. Joseph Cook says, "The cost of producing labor should determine the price of labor."² "No one will, I believe, question that, in the economical sense, the support of each generation of laborers should be charged against its own wages, just as truly as that a farmer, in solving the question whether a cow dying at a certain age had paid for herself, would set against the proceeds of the sales of her milk or butter the expense of rearing her."³

There is something repulsive in the idea that a certain class of citizens should be set off by themselves, and placed beside cows for economic estimation. We object to this theory for the following reasons:—

(1.) It is the law applied to the products of industry, and assumes that laborers are to be ranked with commodities. The very idea of estimating men by the cost in dollars and cents of producing them is offensive. Men and women cost something besides money; they are not commodities. The rearing of human beings, even among the lowest classes, is in no sense a manufactory, or mine, or farm for the production of economic goods.

We protest against its being treated as a mere industrial affair to be measured by money. What price shall be put on the pangs and perils of child-birth, or the tears and

¹ "The Wealth of Nations" (Rogers' Edition), p. 31.

² "Labor," p. 227.

³ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 34.

fears and heart-aches of anxious parents? When a child is stricken with disease we can estimate the cost of a physician and nurse, but what price shall be put on the night vigils, the mental torture, the agonizing prayers of loving fathers and mothers, however poor and humble their lot in life? Political economy, coolly ignoring all these factors, lays down the proposition that the laborer is worth only the money-cost of producing him.

The truth is, the entire conception of man on which this theory proceeds is not only unchristian, but inhuman and barbarous.

Man is not merely an animal; he is a rational being with spiritual affections and hopes, that take hold on eternity, and possessed of an immortal soul of more value than all the mines and machinery, tools and stocks, of ten thousand worlds. In the question, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" God puts infinite value upon the soul of man, and this Scriptural estimate accords with the highest reason, with the moral sense, and with the soundest philosophy; it is diametrically opposed, however, to that worship of mammon which characterizes our age and especially our country.

(2.) We object to this rule, not only because it applies the law of merchandise to men, but because it actually degrades men below the rank of commodities, and, as a law of political economy governing the price of merchandise, is untenable. In other words, the cost of production does not actually determine prices; and if it did, and applied to laborers, they would rank below brutes. For example, it costs in the United States \$200 to raise a horse, and you pay \$3 per day for the use of it. It costs \$2,000 to raise a laborer, and you pay him \$1.50 per day. The contract price in England for raising an orphan to the age of eleven years is \$650.¹ We do not, however, base our estimate on the cost of rearing orphans and paupers in England to the age of eleven years, but on the cost of rearing respectable American working men. Now, if we compare wages with horse-hire, with reference to the cost of production, we find that,

¹ "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 33.

while it costs ten times as much to rear a man as to raise a horse, you pay only one-half as much for the use of the man as for the use of the horse. If paid at the same rate, the laborer would receive \$30 per day. But it is replied, "A man can work twice the years that a horse can work." Very well, reduce his wages one-half, and still he would receive \$15 per day for his labor. But you say again, "\$3 per day will pay for a driving-horse, whereas a common work-horse can be had for \$1.50 per day, and it is the common laborer who receives only \$1.50 per day." Very well, you have reduced the hire of the horse one-half; let us make the same reduction in the case of the man, and we have instead of \$15, \$7.50 per day as the wages of the common laborer.

These wages are indeed high; but let no employer fear, for they cannot be paid till the laborer is raised to the rank of a horse. We are not attempting to show that laborers should receive \$7.50 per day, but that, when rated with horses in relation to the cost of production, they are valued exactly five times less. The fact is, livery men adopt no such basis in letting horses. They must have a *profit*. The same is true in the sale of commodities generally. It is not the cost of production that determines prices. The actual price of manufactured goods, what one has to pay for them, is the cost of raw material, wages, salaries, interest, rent, taxes, insurance, wear and tear—in a word, the entire cost of production and another item, namely, *profits*. If wages are measured solely by the cost of producing labor, it follows that laborers are economically ranked below a pair of boots or a bar of soap.

(3.) The absurdity of this theory is apparent if we use the term labor in its broadest sense, so as to include professional workers. It costs equal sums to produce two lawyers, physicians, teachers, or ministers; yet one receives \$500 and the other \$5,000 per year. It may cost as much to rear a ward politician as the President of the United States, but the former receives \$2 and the latter \$160 per day. A letter-carrier and the Postmaster-General may cost alike, but the former receives \$800 and the latter \$10,000 per

year. What has cost of production to do with price of concrete service here, or, indeed, when applied to free men under any circumstances?

It seems perfectly clear that the cost of maintenance *together with a surplus corresponding to profits*, and not cost of production, should determine the price of labor; and maintenance should include provisions for social, political, educational, and religious duties and privileges as becomes men free-born, God-imaged, and immortal.

Mr. Rae, perceiving the logical consequences of this vicious principle, first attempts to explain it so as to refute Socialists, then, as if suspecting the futility of his explanation, flatly denies its validity. His words are, "That doctrine itself is wrong. . . . A natural or normal rate of wages depends . . . on the average productivity of labor."¹ That it ought so to depend is evident; that it does not is equally evident.

The machinery in the mills of Great Britain alone has so increased the productivity of labor, that it equals 600,000,000 men, or more than all the adult laborers on the globe. In other words, the productivity of labor has increased thirty-fold. Will it be pretended that wages have increased thirty-fold? Mr. Gladstone says that "the manufacturing power of the world doubles every seven years." Do wages double at the same rate?

On the contrary, Mr. Rogers declares that the laborer is worse off than he was 400 years ago. Thus Mr. Rae, in attempting to avoid Scylla, falls into Charybdis. But it may be replied, "It is not said that wages increase *pari passu* with the productivity of labor;" but if the productivity of labor increases faster than wages, which few will deny, then the wage class is being pushed farther down in the industrial and social scale; then the tendency is toward a minimum of wages; then Socialists and economists are right.

Professor Walker, in his philosophy of wages, takes higher ground. He shows that production, rather than any wage-fund, furnishes the measure of wages, and declares not that it actually determines the rate of wages, but that "the wages-class is entitled to the immediate benefit of

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 332.

every improvement in science and art, every discovery of resources in nature, every advance in their own industrial character."¹

Bravely said, but the golden truth is the fruit of a higher political economy than is now current.

This would be a different world if wage-workers thus shared in the distribution of wealth; but is this result probable, nay, is it possible, under an industrial system based on private capital, free competition, and freedom of contract?

The wage-system is admirably adapted to blind the eyes to the manner in which the laborer is wronged. Wages are estimated and paid in money. The amount received is *prima facie* equal to the value of his services, or their exchange value; but the real value, or value in use, is this amount plus what the employer receives for these services, and this value in use the laborer has no means of knowing. Instead of a money payment, were he paid in kind, as formerly, he could see what proportion of the fruit of his labor went to the employer; or, if he worked for the latter one day and for himself five, as under the feudal system, he would not be deceived; but when paid in money he seems to be working for himself all the time, whereas he is really working for his employer so many hours, and creating for him so much value that he grows rich, while the laborer remains poor, although receiving as high wages perhaps as he has demanded. Thus by the wages-system the employer is enabled to appropriate all the surplus value created by the laborer. This Socialists declare to be the secret and method of the exploitation of the laborer.

The present philosophy of political economy must regard labor as a commodity; but the question pressing for solution is, how to regard labor as a commodity, and the *laborer as a man and a brother*; and unless a solution in harmony with ethical science, based on the divine revelation of human brotherhood, shall be forthcoming, the whole theory that labor is a commodity must be abandoned, along with its degrading and inhuman corollary that wages should be determined by the cost of producing laborers.

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 441.

The reward of labor, instead of furnishing a bare subsistence, should be, as Adam Smith declared, the product of labor. "The product of labor constitutes the natural recompense, or wages of labor."¹ Here we have the simple, sole, and unalterable law of wages, which capitalism must obscure and deny at the peril of its life.

Wages which degrade men industrially and socially are not the natural rate. The natural rate of wages, morally expressed, is such as will fill our city governments, legislatures, congress, and presidential chair with laborers, who should constitute all the people. A government of the people, by the people, and for the people is a farce, when nine-tenths of these same people are practically shut out from all participation in the management of public affairs by a plutocracy whose power springs from a vicious standard of wages.

The natural and the Christian law of wages, then, is the total product of labor. This law can never prevail under the capitalistic system.

As long as there are private capitalists, so long will there be and must be the exploitation of the laborer; hence the demand for Socialism.

If it be regarded as ideal and impracticable, we reply so has every advance in human society and nearly every institution that now blesses mankind. If it cuts across prevailing modes of thought and accepted dogmas of political economy, we submit to every candid mind that accepts the ethics of the Golden Rule, that it accords perfectly with the eternal principles of truth, justice, and mercy as between man and man.

V. — *The Public Ownership and Control of Capital.*

"No laws, no customs, no rights of property are so sacred that they may not be made away with, if it can be clearly shown that they stand in the way of the greatest happiness. *Salus populi; suprema lex.*"

W. STANLEY JEVONS.

The Postulates of Socialism, thus far considered, constitute the *rationale* of critical Socialism.

The fifth and last Postulate concerns remedial or con-

¹ "The Wealth of Nations" (Rogers' Edition), vol. i p. 67.

structive Socialism, and demands the public ownership and control of the means of production. Land and other capital should belong to the State, which should manage all business, agriculture, manufacturing, mining, transportation, and trade. The State would thus be the only employer and every citizen an employee.

The International working men's association says, "The liberation of work requires that the means of production be converted into the common property of society."

Babœuf declared that the State should be "Sole proprietor and sole employer." Rodbertus held that labor could never receive its share of products till the State owned and controlled the instruments and means of production. Marx and Lassalle reiterate the same views.

The first demand in the Platform of the Socialistic Labor Party is "That the land, the instruments of production, (machines, factories, etc.), and the products of labor become the common property of the whole people; and that all the productions be organized co-operatively, and be carried on under the direction of the Commonwealth."¹

The three pillars of individualism are capital, contract, and competition, free and individual.

We have seen that in the industrial evolution these principles have reached a stage of development which threatens society.

They would each disappear under State ownership of capital.

Under capitalism no man can acquire riches, except at the expense of his fellow-men. This exploitation is possible only through society, which is the State. The State therefore ought to put an end to it by assuming control of industry, which would equalize the burdens and benefits of life, by furnishing all with honorable labor, and banishing needless want and suffering.

It will be seen that Socialism in demanding this change involves nothing less than a new science of political economy.

Socialism would not disturb private property, but private capital only.

¹ "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 368.

Whatever ministers to personal comfort, — clothing, furniture, books, plate, pictures, dwellings, horses and carriages, in short, all personal belongings, and all property except capital, — property employed to gain more property, — would be owned and enjoyed by the individual.

It is this doctrine of State-ownership that is peculiar to Socialism. "The Alpha and Omega of Socialism," says Shaeffle, "is the transmutation of private, competing capital into united collective capital." With the absorption of capital by the State, freedom of contract would disappear; competition, which is war, would forever hide its hideous face; money, the means of capitalistic exploitation, would disappear: no one would have occasion to buy or sell, as the State would pay all its employees in the commodities which their needs and tastes required.

Society has become so complex, and men have become so dependent upon each other, the State, for its own preservation, must assume new duties. An industrially organized Commonwealth is becoming a necessity: it accords with the newer and truer conception of the nature of the State. The State is no longer the king, or the pope, or the aristocracy, but the people; and why should not the people, all the people, fix their own prices, work, and wages? This is not paternalism, or individualism, but fraternity in government. The advantages of State ownership will be considered in another chapter. The principle, which is the foundation of Socialism, will be examined in the remainder of this chapter.

1. Equity demands State ownership.

Many regard the present conflict between labor and capital as a transient phenomenon, due to the restless spirit of the age, or to causes temporary in their nature. Among these are people who have bestowed on the social question but a passing thought occasioned by some lurid flash of the angry fires raging within the industrial body. Others believe their private interests depend on the maintenance of the present order. Others again, and they are many, led by gross misrepresentations of the principles of Socialism, have identified it with anarchy, the thought of which fills them with horror.

Now, of all this class it is sufficient to say that they ignore the great fact that Socialism is first and foremost a question of *equity*. The difference between a moral question and one of mere expediency, is that the former does not admit of two sides, while the latter may admit of a dozen. Socialism is a moral question.

We do not say it is only that, but its ethical tap-root is *social justice*; and this has no two sides. Socialism, therefore, refuses to be treated merely from the standpoint of expediency.

Here is the ground and explanation of the martyr-spirit shown by many of its advocates. It is because all hope of social justice under capitalism is despaired of, that the socialization of capital is demanded. The *laissez-faire* age of industry, wherein government permits industrial anarchy, holding itself bound merely to keep the peace between all competitors in the fierce struggle for bread and gold, has had its day. We grant that it has stimulated production and created unexampled wealth, which may yet, however, prove to be our Trojan Horse.

During the reign of *laissez-faire*, an insupportable evil, inherent in the system, has grown up that can only be removed by removing the cause. This evil is the separation of society into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (capitalist and laborer), by a gulf daily widening and deepening. As Talleyrand declared, "Society is divided into two classes, the shearers and the shorn." Formerly classes were separated by barriers of birth, servitude, or other social conditions that seemed to have the sanction of the Almighty, and hence were regarded as impassable. Men were content to remain in the rank to which it was believed God had assigned them.

All this has passed. The present belief is that God, since he is no Respector of persons, but the common Father, is not the author of social palisades between his children, but the proud, rapacious, and insolent heart of man has set up under cover of *laissez-faire* an economic barrier more harsh and unendurable than has ever before existed. When inequalities were supposed to be ordained of God, the superior

could safely treat his inferior as a man now treats his horse; i.e., considerately, with an eye to the welfare of the horse, because the inferior did not, any more than the horse, aspire to be his equal. The master then protected his slave, the lord, his vassal. He was legally and morally bound to do it. The laborers' sense of dependence was accompanied by a sense of support and protection which rendered his condition tolerable. The result was a mutuality of interest and feeling that was a real bond between social classes.

Laissez-faire has completely severed this bond. Mutuality of interest has disappeared. *Laissez-faire* has made all men *legally* free in the field of industry. To make men, however, who are *physically* and *mentally unequal*, free to ply their arts of speculation with and upon each other, is to allow the strong to prey upon the weak and the cunning to ensnare the innocent.

Competition knows nothing of sympathy. Capitalism is merciless to dependent laborers. Under the *régime* of industrial freedom, capitalists may fleece laborers, but are under no obligation to protect them. Indeed, they could not protect them were they so disposed, except as objects of charity: but God have mercy on the man or class whose well-being depends on charity! But if this is the hard lot of laborers generally under the present system, what shall be said of the weak and unfortunate classes? *Laissez-faire* and competition have not overlooked these. Speaking by the mouth of Spencer, they dispose of these after this fashion: "The shouldering aside the weak by the strong, which leaves so many in shallows and miseries, is the decree of a large, foreseeing benevolence, regarded not separately, but in connection with the interests of universal humanity. To step in between weakness and its consequences suspends the progress of weeding out those of lower development."¹ Such is the exact and merciless logic of the accepted but cruel inhumanity, the refined but infernal barbarism, of our industrial system. Its edict, put forth in the name of "benevolence," is, let the weak seethe and writhe in the

¹ As quoted in "Modern Socialism" (Grönlund), p. 79.

caldron of these "shallows and miseries" till death takes them off.

On this commandment hang all the law and the prophets of *laissez-faire*. There is indeed under competition but just one thing for our weaker brethren to do, and that is to die as soon as possible. It is enough to make the angels shiver, but truth compels us to say, that, in spite of Christianity, there was more real brotherhood between the ancient master and slave, or lord and vassal, than there is to-day between employer and employee.

The hopelessness of the laborer's condition is pointed out by economists and others. Professor Cairnes says he is "*unaware of any rule of justice applicable to the problem of distributing the produce of industries.*" Again he says, "that should justice be so applied as to destroy the fundamental assumptions of our economic system, capital would be destroyed or infinitely curtailed."¹ Here is a note of blank despair.

Justice cannot be done under the present system, but if we disturb the system, we are ruined! Very well; let us have justice and take the consequences. We agree with Carlyle when he says, "Hunger, nakedness, death even, may be borne sometimes with cheerfulness, but injustice is insupportable to all men."

Professor Cairnes deplores the unequal distribution of wealth, but insists that "the tendency of industrial progress . . . is toward an inequality greater still?" and declares that "the first and indispensable step toward any serious amendment of the laborer's lot is that he should be . . . placed in a position compatible with his becoming a sharer, in equal proportion with others, in the general advantages arising from industrial progress." This is the quintessence of Socialism. But how can this, "the first and indispensable step," be taken? State ownership is the only answer.

Justice must be king, no matter what becomes of economic assumptions, or systems of industry. A man or

¹ As quoted in "Communism and Socialism" (Woolsey), p. 170.

principle backed by justice has God on his side and must ultimately win.

So conservative and cautious a writer as Dr. Theodore Woolsey says if the "free use of private property must end in making a few capitalists of enormous wealth and a vast population of laborers dependent on them; and if there be no choice between this disease of free society and the swallowing-up of all property by the State, then we admit it would *be hard to choose between the two evils*.

Nothing would lead the mass of men to embrace Socialism sooner than the conviction that this enormous accumulation of capital in a few hands was to be *not only an evil in fact*, if not prevented, but a *necessary evil*, beyond prevention. . . . A revolution, slow or rapid, would certainly bring about a new order of things."¹

Centralization of property in a few hands *is already* "an evil in fact." As every cause necessitates an effect, it is "*a necessary evil*," and daily increasing in magnitude and malignancy.

The most striking thing, however, about this statement by Dr. Woolsey is, that it would "be *hard to choose between*" subjecting a vast population of laborers dependent on "a few capitalists of enormous wealth," and the alternative of State ownership; that is, between the industrial slavery of the great bulk of the people, and the people's ownership and management of their own property, for the general weal. We say this is a strange utterance. We had to read it repeatedly to satisfy ourselves that this was its real import. It shows how a mind of superb culture and candor, trained under the influences of capitalism, will cling to an existing system, while admitting that its flesh has become leprous and its bones rotten.

This fact, however, gives additional value to his testimony as to the hoplessness of labor under the present system, unless its evil tendencies be counteracted. Can they be counteracted and the system maintained? This is the question thoughtful men are asking. Socialism answers no. An in-

¹ "Communism and Socialism" (Woolsey), pp. 297, 298.

creasing number of writers and students of the social question are refusing to say yes.

Thousands who shun the name of Socialists are advocating measures of State ownership. Remedial laws have been enacted shortening the hours of labor, protecting women and children, sanctioning labor organizations, instituting labor bureaus, promoting the health of operatives, providing for arbitration between employer and employees, and extending political privileges to all classes ; and yet, along with all this, the real evil continues ; capital accumulates, labor is depressed, working men feel a keen sense of injustice, and everywhere the social auguries become less and less propitious.

2. Christianity demands State ownership.

We refer not to the Christianity taught in certain churches, which are more properly Sunday clubs, but the Christianity of Christ. The essence of this as respects man's relation to his fellows, is brotherhood, and this is the watchword of Socialism.

The essence of brotherhood is love. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself ;" and "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor ; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."

The present system does work ill to our neighbors, therefore it is not consonant *with love*. *State ownership* implies a community of interests which is a powerful if not an indispensable spur to the exercise of brotherly love.

The word Socialism is a glorious word ! It means, *we all*. Its opposite is Individualism, which means, *I myself*. Socialism says, "Our Father." Individualism says "My Father." So with the gospel Socialism says, "Love seeketh not her own." Individualism says, "Let every man seek his own interest." Socialism with the gospel says, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man on the things of another." It requires him to provide for his own *and also* for others.

This is the basal doctrine of Socialism expressed in the formula "*each for all, and all for each.*" There is more of Christ and Him crucified in that little modest formula, than in all the tomes of theology ever written, than in all the

creeds of Christendom, or in all the economic and philosophical maxims of the world.

The extreme opposite principle is self-interest, and self-interest is antipodal to the gospel precept of self-denial as laid down by Christ, "Let him deny himself." Self-interest caused the angels to fall. It was the head of self-interest that the Seed of the woman was sent to bruise: self-interest, for thirty pieces of silver betrayed the Saviour of the world: it is self-interest which inspires every crime that is committed, whose hands are dripping with all the human blood ever shed by man, and which is the sole cause of all earth's woes: self-interest is the fiend that will continue to roam up and down in the earth seeking whom he may devour, till God shall finally cast him into the bottomless pit.

Notwithstanding this, self-interest is openly and unblushingly avowed to be the corner-stone of the present and the best possible system; the angel of light that shall scatter social darkness and bring "Peace on earth and good-will to men." When we behold such diabolism, arrayed in sheep's clothing, crystallized into an axiom of political economy, and made the guiding business principle of wise and good men who profess loyalty to the Christian Scriptures, we ask in all seriousness will the foundations of justice ever be laid again on earth? Was Bryant dreaming when he wrote, —

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers."

If the moral principles which support the claims of State ownership accord with Christianity, we should naturally expect the advocates of Socialists to entertain strong religious convictions.

3. Socialists have generally associated the principles of State ownership with the religious sentiment.

The history of all communistic movements confirms this opinion, Socialism and Communism agree in demanding public ownership of capital. They agree in condemning pride of wealth, and in advocating such an equal distribution of economic goods as to render it impossible.

This much at least may be said of those early communistic societies, the Buddhist monks, who at first dwelt in solitude or were wandering mendicants; the Jewish Essenes; the Egyptian Therapeutæ; the Christian Communists of Jerusalem; the later orders of Romish monasticism; and the Anabaptists of Münster who figured for a short time in the sixteenth century. The religious spirit prompted and pervaded these orders. Asceticism, meditation, separation from the world, and worship, were not, however, their only features.

The principle of Community of Goods (State ownership) characterized them all, and they rested the institution on the common fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, which the gospel of Christ everywhere emphasizes.

The religious element has been no less conspicuous among the more modern Socialists, if we except the latest phase of Socialism, or perhaps we should say of social democracy. This hostility to religion is not directed against Christianity, but against the current perversion of it as taught in the schools and churches.

That the gospel, as now conceived in respect to riches, pride, caste, the relation of the strong to the weak, the love of brotherhood, and the modes of their expression, is another gospel than that taught by Christ cannot be denied.

Babœuf, a Frenchman, born in 1794 and guillotined at the age of thirty-three, organized a communistic party on the basal principle that "in a true society there ought to be neither rich nor poor."

This declaration sounds like an inspired paraphrase on the Scripture, "Give me neither poverty nor riches."

St. Simon, another Frenchman, was the founder of the order of St. Simonism. He was born in Paris of noble family in 1760. Before he was of age he crossed the Atlantic and fought for American independence. Freedom, equality, and justice were to him the foremost considerations among men. To the promotion of these principles he gave his life. He was a philosopher, a writer of merit, and a pure and true lover of his fellow-man, which entitles him to be forever held in grateful remembrance. He sac-

rificed everything that men hold dear in the way of property, honor, and power for the improvement of society, and died in 1825 in the deepest poverty, but in fervent hope that society was about to reap a glorious harvest from the principles which he had sown.

The scene at his death reminds us of the last hours of Christ and his disciples. He called his followers to his bedside and said, "For twelve days, my friends, I have been occupied with plans designed to assure the success of our enterprise. . . . The fruit is ripe; you are able to gather it. The last of my labors, the New Christianity, will not be immediately understood. . . . Rodrigues, do not forget, but remember that to accomplish grand deeds you must be enthusiastic. All my life is comprised in this one thought: to guarantee to all men the freest development of their faculties." ¹

In a few moments he raised his hand to his head and died. His book, "The New Christianity," was the Bible of his socialistic followers. St. Simonism embraced among its adherents a number of eminent men, among whom were scholars, historians, philosophers, and political economists. Professor Ely, in concluding an interesting account of his work, speaks thus: "St. Simon has ceased to be the prophet of a religious school, but he did not sacrifice life and happiness in vain. He still lives in the lives and actions of men." ²

St. Simon's views of man in his relation to labor and his fellows were in perfect harmony with the gospel of Christ. He says, "In the New Christianity all morality will be derived immediately from this principle; men ought to regard each other as brothers. This principle, which belongs to primitive Christianity, will receive a glorification. . . . Religion must aid society in its chief purpose, which is the most rapid improvement in the lot of the poor." ³

It would seem as if his thought had been inspired by the

¹ "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-68.

tender and beautiful precept of the gospel, "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Among modern socialistic movements none have exerted a wider influence than Fourierism, named after its founder, Charles Fourier, of the same nationality as St. Simon, and born in 1772. He endeavored to work out in an *a priori* manner a true philosophy of society and of the universe.

His social system, which he believed would bring harmony where all is now discord, he supported, not only by persistent faith and devotion, but by several important publications. He perceived, as none before him had done, the vast and beneficent results of association both of labor and capital. He would divide society into phalanxes, in which, in spite of inequalities, the interests of one would be the interests of all.

To Fourier and his adherents, more than to any others, is due the agitation that has resulted in modern legislation in the interests of labor and of sanitary reform. The socialistic community at Guise, France, founded by M. Gôdin, himself a Fourierist, has achieved notable success, and its reputation is already worldwide.

Its declaration of principles contains such precepts as these: "To love others as one's self." "To act towards others as you would wish that they should act towards you," "To make our abilities conduce to the perfection of our existence and that of others," "To unite together and give support to one another."

Fourier founds his entire system of organized industry upon these four factors: "good morals; the accord of the three classes—rich, middle, and poor; the discontinuance of party quarrels, the cessation of pests, revolutions, and fiscal penury; and universal unity."

But this is only a free translation and a practical realization of the angelic song, "On earth peace, good will to men." Fourierism has made thirty-four different experiments in this country. Among the first was the Brook Farm movement, near Boston, in 1840. It was supported by such men as Hawthorne, Channing, Theodore Parker, Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, and George W. Curtis.

Its essential principles were choice of work, one rate of wages, and common warehouses. Owing to a destructive fire, its existence was of short duration. Its representative paper said: "The life of the world is now the Christian life. For eighteen centuries art, literature, philosophy, poetry, have followed the fortunes of the Christian idea. "Modern history is the history of revealed religion. In vain will anything try to be which is not supported thereby." John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida and Wallingford communities, and author of "American Socialism," declares that the *religious spirit is an indispensable* condition of success.

The Shakers came out from the Society of Friends and migrated from England in 1774, under the leadership of Ann Lee, who claimed to be led by a direct revelation from God. They have twelve settlements in New York and New England, and own 50,000 acres of land. In 1874 they had a total population of 25,000. They hold to a community of goods, derived from the early Christian church at Jerusalem. The Shaker settlements are marvels of neatness, sobriety, thrift, economy, and business sagacity, and are conspicuous for their religion and morality.

About fifty years ago Cabet, a Frenchman, and author of the "Travels in Icaria," a book inspired by Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," and which Professor Ely describes as "a really fascinating book," came to this country and established a communistic settlement at Nauvoo, Ill.

It numbered 1,500. The society still exists, although greatly reduced in number. Cabet was a great and good man. Amid most trying circumstances, he and his followers showed a purity of purpose, a nobility of aspiration and endeavor, and a spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism, accompanied by a sacred regard for law, education, morality, and all that is pure, gentle, and of good report, that form one of the most interesting chapters in history.

What was the governing principle in Icaria? Let Cabet answer. "If we are asked what is your science? We reply, Fraternity. What is your doctrine? Fraternity.

What is your theory? Fraternity. What is your system? Fraternity."¹ And this, be it observed, is but the echo of the gospel. "For one is your Master even Christ, and all ye are brethren." We call attention to these societies and to social reformers for a single purpose, viz., to show that, without exception, they found their attempts to realize social justice by the social, instead of the private, employment of capital, upon the precepts of religion. Whatever may be said of their vagaries or of their social life in its influence upon the family, or of the detestable utterances of certain fanatical leaders, we believe that their principle of associated capital has no necessary connection with any other than the very highest type of Christian morality.

We do not share the fear of those who profess to believe, that the degree of economic equality demanded by distributive or social justice, is incompatible with social purity and all other interests of morality and religion.

The difference between Communists and Socialists is not only one of degree, it concerns a vital principle. Communists would have *common property*, Socialists would have *common capital*. The difference between these principles and their outcome is hardly conceivable.

Communists demand equality. Socialists demand social justice with that degree of equality necessary to secure it. Some of the earliest Socialists sympathized with communists in their ideas of common property limited to a community; while later Socialists advocate the nationalizing, not of property, but of capital. The early reformers relied on religion and love as sufficient motive forces; the latter invoke also the aid of law and politics.

The Socialism of to-day is both political and moral. Louis Blanc was the first advocate of State Socialism. He was born in 1813 of French parents. A statesman of integrity, a voluminous writer and author, a man of pure and generous impulses and of catholic spirit, he exerted a commanding influence, won for himself a national reputation, and at his death, in 1882, was honored by a state funeral.

¹ "French and German Socialism," p. 50.

Of his "History of the French Revolution," Charles Sumner used to say that the first volume was one of those profoundly philosophical studies which mark an epoch in literature and in the development of human intelligence.¹ Mr. Smalley applies to him what Emerson said of Sumner: "He was the whitest soul I ever knew;" and continues, "If ever a man lived free from stain, it was he who has just died. All his life long the fierce light of passionate political and still more passionate social controversies beat upon him. He made innumerable enemies; he was the object of innumerable calumnies. Not one of his enemies hated the man; not one of the calumnies touched his private worth."² Such is the exalted character of the first State Socialist. His motive in urging State ownership of capital was inspired by supreme love for God and man. He saw no remedy for social misery but in the radical, though gradual, change of the industrial *régime* from the private to the public control of capital.

We quote his words, which contain more of the Sermon on the Mount than any other equal number of words with which we are acquainted.

"Man has received of nature certain faculties of loving, of knowing, of acting. But these have by no means been given him in order that he should exercise them solitarily; they are but the supreme indication of that which one owes to the society of which he is a member; and this indication each one bears written in his organization in letters of fire. If you are twice as strong as your neighbor, it is a proof that nature has destined you to bear a double burden. If your intelligence is superior, it is a sign that your mission is to scatter about you more light. Weakness is a creditor of strength; ignorance of learning. The more a man *can* the more he *ought*; and this is the meaning of those beautiful words of the gospel: 'Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.' Whence the axiom, from every one according to his faculties; that is one's duty."³

¹ "French and German Socialism," p. 111.

² As quoted *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³ As quoted *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, a contemporary of Louis Blanc, occupies a unique position among French Socialists. He was born in 1809, and died at the age of fifty-six. He was a scholar, an independent thinker, a bold writer, a sincere but perhaps too zealous social reformer. Professor Ely says that his essay on property "is important because it led Socialists and even political economists to a more careful revision of their facts." Proudhon was bitter in his denunciation of private capital and capitalists.

Christianity had become so perverted in its unholy alliance with capital that he exclaimed, "God is the Evil." Communism, which destroyed a just and natural individualism, was no less absurd than the prevailing individualism which destroyed a just and natural communism.

He exposed with burning eloquence the wrongs inherent in each of these systems. Property he declared to be the "exploitation of the weak by the strong," while communism was "the exploitation of the strong by the weak." We are not, however, now concerned so much with his views of social order as with the spirit of the man himself.

Was he, or was he not, prompted by motives which have their seat in the religious nature of man? There can be but one answer. The imprisonment and persecutions which he suffered for the sake of social justice, perfectly accord with this beautiful and touching prayer with which he closes his work on property.

"O God of liberty! God of equality! Thou God who hast placed in my heart the sentiment of justice before my reason comprehended it, hear my ardent prayer! Thou hast dictated that which I have written. Thou hast formed my thought, thou hast directed my studies, thou hast separated my spirit from curiosity and my heart from attachment, in order that I should publish the truth before the master and the slave. I have spoken as thou hast given me power and talent; it remains for thee to complete thy work. Thou knowest whether I have sought my interest or thy glory. O God of liberty! May my memory perish if humanity may but be free; if I may but see in my obscurity the people finally instructed, if noble instructors

but enlighten it, if disinterested hearts but guide it. Shorten, if it may be, our time of trial; smother inequality, pride, and avarice; confound this idolatry of glory which retains us in abjection. . . . Then the great and the small, the rich and the poor, will unite in one ineffable fraternity; and all together, chanting a new hymn, will re-erect thy altar, O God of liberty and of equality!"¹

This sublime appeal to God, with its superb disinterestedness, its pure and passionate love, and its magnificent abandon of self, finds a parallel in the pathetic and sacrificial cry of Moses: "*O God*, this people have sinned a great sin and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin; — and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written."²

Nothing could be more irrational, then, than the irreligion of Socialists, since every argument for their system rests back upon the precepts of Jesus Christ.

German Socialists have furnished a philosophical and logical basis for State ownership that can never be overthrown. Fichté, when forgotten as a metaphysician, will be gratefully remembered as the forerunner of German Socialism. He was born in 1762 and died in 1814. In 1800 his remarkable treatise on "The Exclusive or Isolated Commercial State" appeared, in which he lays down the doctrine of the organized protection of industry by the State, and bitterly opposes competition. In another work he declares that "Labor and distribution should be collectively organized; . . . property will then be made universal. No person should enjoy superfluities as long as anybody lacks necessities, for the right of property in objects of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessities of life."³ Modern Socialism is only the development of these ideas. Weitling followed Fichté, and was the author of several works which set forth the principles of an industrial democracy. To this end the existing State organizations must be destroyed. "Property, when first instituted, was enduring; it did not then take away from anybody the right and the means of becoming a

¹ As quoted "French and German Socialism," pp. 141, 142.

² Exod. xxxii. 31, 32.

³ "Socialism of To-day" (Laveleye), p. 8.

land-owner, for there was no money, while there was vacant land in abundance. From the moment, however, that every man could no longer appropriate a part of the soil, property has ceased to be a right. It has become a crying evil, and the cause of the misery and destitution of the masses."¹

It is worthy of note that these and other Socialists of Germany deal with the general principles of right and justice in the social organism. It was reserved for later writers, chief of whom are Marlo, Rodbertus, Marx, and Lassalle, political economists of the first rank, to formulate these principles into a scientific system of political economy. Scientific Socialism, therefore, has for its corner-stone the law of Christian ethics, and the whole vast superstructure rests upon this foundation. Marlo (Professor Winkelbleck), who died in 1859, left a work, part of which had already appeared entitled "Investigations on the Organizations of Labor, or System of Universal Political Economy."

This work ably sets forth the principles of "Associated Ownership." The author foresaw clearly that no permanent improvement in the condition of laborers was possible without the reorganization of society. He draws a sound comparison between what he calls the pagan and the Christian principle in political economy.

The pagan principle sacrifices the masses in order to insure the pleasures and the splendors of a restricted aristocracy, as in the ancient cities. The Christian principle knows only equals, and demands that each should have a share of the produce in proportion to his useful work.

The pagan method of making a profit out of the laborer has taken several forms: at first slavery, then serfdom, forced labor, the right of the feudal lords. To-day there are practical monopolies, "cornerings, privileges, and gambling speculations."²

Karl Rodbertus has been called the "Father of German Socialism." He was born in 1805 and died in 1875. Although Laveye says that Rodbertus was not a Socialist, it would be difficult to describe him as anything else. He wrote a half-dozen works on social questions, and, if he did

¹ "Socialism of To-day" (Laveye), p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

not avow himself a Socialist, he laid down in a few powerful writings, all the essential economic principles on which Socialism rests. Few men have had a greater influence in shaping economic and socialistic thought than Rodbertus. He has been called the "Ricardo of Socialism."

Karl Marx, the ablest Socialist and political economist this century has produced, was born in Treves in 1819 and died in 1883. His "*Das Kapital*" is a truly remarkable book. It is called the "Bible of Socialism." In it Marx shows the essential nature of labor, capital, and "surplus value" and their mutual relations; and shows the process by which, under the capitalistic system, the laborer is exploited, with a wealth of learning, aptness, and copiousness of illustration, conciseness of style, inexhaustibleness of research, and unanswerable logic unequalled in the history of politico-economic literature.

"*Das Kapital*" (Capital) is the book above all others that one needs to study if he would understand the true inwardness of the capitalistic system. It is not improbable that it will sustain the same relation to the abolition of this system that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" sustained to the abolition of slavery.

The last of the German Socialists whom we shall mention is Ferdinand Lassalle, born in 1825 and died in 1864. Lassalle was to Marx what Aaron was to Moses — his mouthpiece. Learned, eloquent, zealous, he kindled a fire in Germany that is burning with ever-increasing brightness, that has spread over the whole world, and that will never be extinguished till Socialism is realized as the divinely ordained order in human society.

Laveleye says, "Ferdinand Lassalle is looked upon by his disciples as the Messiah of Socialism. During his life they listened to him as an oracle, and after his death they venerated him as a demi-god."¹

He pictured the luxury, crimes, and selfishness of the *bourgeois*, the degradation and sufferings of the proletariat so faithfully and graphically as to "attract the attention of the civilized world. Statesmen grew pale and kings

¹ "Socialism of To-day," p. 42.

trembled." He took Ricardo's law of wages as developed by Marx, and under the title of "*The Iron Law of Wages*," showed that the wage system is the most subtle, refined, and cruel means of the exploitation of the laborer.

We pass these great Socialists, Rodbertus, Marx, and Lassalle, the more briefly here because a general idea of their teachings is obtained in the quotations from their writings which we often make as authority for positions taken in this volume.

4. Professorial Socialists, or Socialists of the Chair, have strengthened the principles of State ownership.

They are political economists who insist that ethics are not only germane to, but an essential part of, economic science. The old classical economy assumes that the principles of economic action were as impersonal and metallic as the laws of nature, and as unchangeable as those of the Medes and Persians. It dealt with human beings as the mineralogist would deal with stones, except that the latter would think it fatal to leave out of the account an essential property of this mineral, while the older economists ignored the fact that man had a moral nature. This is as if one should ignore the property of hardness in stone, or malleability in silver, in his consideration of these minerals.

The science of producing wealth must take cognizance of all data which belong to the nature of the producers. These producers are men. They are not machines and animals, but moral and sentient beings. Intelligence, conscience, and affections are active factors in the production of wealth. Money is blood, although seldom the blood of its possessor, but some time, somewhere, it has cost blood; somebody's brow has sweat, somebody's hand grown weary, and somebody's heart ached in the production of every dollar that exists.

Thus it is that the lives of men and women are wrought into every yard of cloth and ton of coal. Political economy, then, is not a matter of hard and fast *a priori* laws and conclusions, but must take into consideration the historical, the practical, the just, and even the merciful in the social and industrial life of men.

To Germany belongs the honor of first giving this most important truth a scientific recognition. In 1872 a congress of one hundred and fifty members convened at Eisenach. It was attended by leading politicians, but principally by professors of political economy, all of whom agreed that the vicious principle of *laissez-faire* must be renounced and the State *must assume a larger control of industry*: this was a long step in the direction of Socialism; hence the name of Professorial Socialists was applied to them.

As political economists, from a purely scientific standpoint, they uttered a protest in the name of justice and humanity, against the existing industrial *régime* that is being heard and approved throughout the whole earth. Bismarck himself is the distinguished champion of this school. He declares that he will no longer indorse the representatives of a party, which in political economy advocates the right of the stronger and deserts the weak in the struggle *against the might of capital*, and which refers him to free competition, to private insurance, and I do not know what else—in short, refusing him all help of the State.”¹ The ethics of this passage are distinctively Christian. With this school the State is a divine institution. It is God manifest in the body social and politic. The doctrine of self-interest is repudiated. The unjust, unsocial, and iniquitous inequalities that exist are attributed to the present economical arrangement, which must accordingly be modified by the application of the socialistic principle of *association*.

A gross and material individualism which fosters pride, caste, and oppression, must yield to that measure of equality which God has ordained. There is something in this world more sacred than mammon, and that is man. “What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?”²

All this in the name of political economy! Says Roscher, “The starting-point, as well as the object-point, of our science is man. All hope of resolving ‘the social question’

¹ As quoted in “French and German Socialism,” p. 235.

² Mark xiii. 36.

without a moral and intellectual elevation of mankind is abandoned. The Christian religion is assigned an important work in this field, and political economy becomes a Christian science. To see the leaders of economical thought starting with anything rather than religious predilections, gradually forced to this position, may indeed be styled a triumph of Christianity."¹

5. State ownership finds a powerful ally in Christian Socialism.

If the Socialist leaders and organizations, and the latest and ablest political economists have been building upon the precepts of the gospel, as the only sure foundation for a sound economic system, we should naturally expect that the Christian church would hasten to seize this vantage ground.

The church, however, has become such a capitalistic institution that she is handicapped in any reform which touches the question of property. Christian men and women have discovered that the principles of Socialism and the precepts of Jesus are strangely similar, and the result is an avowedly Christian Socialism.

About forty years ago a company of noble Christian men in England, established a society to promote co-operation and education among working people. Chief among these Christian Socialists are to be found such men as Mr. Thomas Hughes, author of "Tom Brown at Rugby;" Frederick Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Mansfield, Lord Ripon, E. V. Neal, Ludlow, and Ellison. They established forty co-operative societies in England. These societies were mostly for production, and had a longer or shorter existence, and were succeeded by co-operative societies for distribution. While these societies were strictly economical, they sought to apply the Christian idea of brotherhood by co-operation and sharing of profits, as against the unchristian principle of competition. The founders were filled with indignation at the misery of working men amid increasing wealth, and perceived as by a revelation from Heaven that the Manchester liberalism, by which was meant freedom of contract,

¹ "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 244.

self-interest, and unrestricted competition, supported by law and custom and buttressed by the economists and mammonists, was a triple alliance of the devil, the prolific source of industrial ills, and an offence alike to God and man.

Maurice said of it: "I believe in my soul [it] would be fatal to the intellect, morality and freedom. Kingsley declared that it was the worst "of all narrow, conceited, hypocritical, anarchic, and atheistic schemes of the universe." He believes, however, that Christian forces are about to usher in a brighter day for working men. "Freedom, Equity, and Brotherhood are here. Realize them in thine own self, and so alone thou helpest to make them realities for all. . . . Not by wrath and haste, but by patience made perfect through suffering, canst thou proclaim their good news to the groaning masses, and deliver them, as thy Master did before thee, by the cross, and not the sword. Divine paradox!—Folly to the rich and mighty!—the watchword of the weak, in whose weakness is God's strength made perfect. 'In your patience possess ye your souls, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.' Yes,—He came then, and the Babel-tyranny of Rome fell, even as the more fearful, more subtle, and more diabolic tyranny of Mammon shall fall ere long. . . . Yes, Babylon the Great—the commercial world of selfish competition, drunken with the blood of God's people, whose merchandise is the bodies and souls of men—her doom is gone forth. And then—then—when they, the tyrants of the earth, who lived delicately with her, rejoicing in her sins, the plutocrats and the bureaucrats, the money-changers and devourers of labor, are crying to the rocks to hide them, and to the hills to cover them from the wrath of Him that sitteth on the throne—then labor shall be free at last, and the poor shall eat and be satisfied with things that 'eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, but which God has prepared for those who love Him.'

"Then the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord . . . and He shall reign indeed on the earth. And then shall this sacrament be an everlasting sign . . . of freedom, equality, brotherhood, of Glory to God in the highest, and

on earth peace and good will toward men. Do you believe?"¹

The confidence of these Christian Socialists was inspired by the conviction that their cause was the cause of God. They were co-workers with Him. So just, so simple, so humane and Christian did their remedy for social ills appear, that Mr. Hughes said, "I certainly thought . . . that here we had found the solution of the great labor question; but I was also convinced that we had nothing to do but just to announce it and found an association or two, in order to convert all England and usher in the millennium, so plain did the whole thing seem to me."² They made propaganda by establishing co-operative associations of laborers, by a newspaper called *Christian Socialist*, by "Politics for the People" and numerous tracts and pamphlets.

German Christian Socialism is of later origin, and has had a distinct Catholic and a distinct Protestant recognition and development. In 1864 the Catholic clubs of Germany, composed of laborers associated together for "mutual improvement, recreation, and benefit," were urged to take up the social question; and Bishop Ketteler warmly espoused the cause of working men and published a stirring pamphlet on the "Labor Question and Christianity." He claimed that ministers of Christ are bound to look into the bread-and-butter question as a part of their religious duty. He deplores that social *régime* that makes the food and clothing and other necessities of working men and their families dependent upon the fluctuations of the market. "The Bishop," says Mr. Rae, "never spares an opportunity of attacking 'heathen humanist-Liberalism,' which he says has pushed the laboring man into the water, and now stands on the bank spinning fine theories about his freedom, but calmly seeing him drown."

This good and great man proposed to organize productive associations which would yield laborers both wages and profits; that is, the entire fruit of their labor. Others differed from him as to the means deemed necessary to attain

¹ "Alton Locke," p. 433.

² As quoted in "French and German Socialism," p. 251.

this result; but all agreed that Christianity itself was essentially Socialistic in its hostility to a selfish individualism.

About ten years ago the Protestant Church of Germany became alarmed at the atheistic attitude of the laborers. The clergy found that in their zeal for speculative theology they and the churches had well-nigh forgotten the toiling masses struggling for their daily bread; and working men in turn had come to regard the church as a cold, formal, hypocritical institution, false alike to her tradition, her history, and her Lord.

Several able clergymen resolved to take out of the way this stumbling-block, and to show working men that the church was their friend.

The moment the Christian church embarks upon such a work, whether in Germany or England or America, she becomes and must become socialistic. Dr. Rudolph Todt and Dr. Stöcker became the acknowledged leaders in this movement. Todt published, in 1878, his "Radical German Socialism and Christian Society."

"Todt's work is designed to set forth the social principles and mission of Christianity on the basis of a critical investigation of the New Testament, which he believes to be an authoritative guide on economical as well as moral and dogmatic questions. He says that to solve the social problem we must take political economy in one hand, the scientific literature of Socialism in the other, and keep the New Testament before us. As the result of his examination, he condemns the existing industrial *régime* as being decidedly unchristian, and declares the general principles of Socialism, and even its main concrete proposals, to be directly prescribed and countenanced by Holy Writ. . . . Every active Christian who makes conscience of his faith has a socialistic vein in him; . . . every Socialist, however hostile he may be to the Christian religion, has an unconscious Christianity in his heart."¹

Seldom have braver and truer words been spoken. They contain a prophecy of the future. They herald the eman-

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 244.

cipation of the laborer and the dawn of an industrial millennium when the devil of *self-interest* will be chained and the industrial kingdoms of this world shall "become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ."

Christian Socialism has already borne golden fruit. It has called the attention of the entire Christian church to the social question, and enlisted many of the ablest clergymen in Europe and America, who stand forth boldly in pulpit, on the platform, and by publication to proclaim those primary and essential gospel truths which will not down till a Christian Socialism is crowned king in the economical arrangements of society. It has compelled legislation in behalf of operatives in shops and factories, a large per cent of whom are women and children. It has encouraged laborers to unite for mutual protection and to secure legal recognition for labor organizations.

While not advocating the abolition of private property, it has brought home to popular Christian thought the mighty truth that no man nor his money belongs to himself but to God and society; and thus it has dealt a terrific blow at the pagan idea of property as a subjective right, and thus prepared the way for State ownership.

It has taught not only the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, but the fraternity of the State. The State is no longer regarded as a police institution to club her children into submission to laws which can never be *equal to unequal* citizens.

A State, when society has reached that point where the happiness and life of each depend upon the others, that acknowledges no more obligations of protection to the weak than to the strong, whatever else it may be, is not worthy the name of Christian. Let us dismiss forever that conception of the State which makes it merely a great law-and-order league, or a huge machine for lynching the poor, weak, and unfortunate by a process none the less murderous because it proceeds by the slow, refined, and legalized methods of hunger, nakedness, and disease. The most cruel lynch-law, the mob most to be dreaded, is that which, ignoring the divine law of love, inflicts its punishments

upon the innocent victims of society in the name of justice and order.

Christian Socialism is awakening interest in the toiling masses which promises great things in the future. Humanity is a larger word than ever before. The "destiny that shapes our ends" is not far off, but nigh; even in society about us. A *Christocentric* faith has emptied Christian theology of its harshness and narrowness. It is coming more and more into the thought of men that Christ is the Saviour of the world — of *this* world in the fullest sense.

His true mission was not only to give men felicity in heaven, but "peace on earth." While man's future is of paramount importance, He made "the life that now is" of immediate and immense concern.

His precepts touch and determine all human relations. He is the Saviour of the world, socially, politically, economically. His gospel would not be good news if it justified social and industrial conditions that wreck multitudes in this world in the hope that they might be picked up on the shore of the next. Let us have done with that conception of Christianity which eliminates Christ from all connection with capital, labor, wages, and all other social, industrial, and political affairs in which men live, move, and have their being.

This is Christian Socialism, the tree whose leaves are "For the healing of the nations."

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF THE SOCIALISTIC STATE

I. — *The Socialistic State rests on First Principles, hence Details are not Essential.*

"In June, 1639, the leading men of New Haven held a convention *in a barn*, and formally adopted the Bible as the Constitution of the State."

RIDPATH'S U. S.

WE have seen that the Socialistic state is simply an extension of the democratic principles to industry. It is the political and social realization of Christian ethics, the governmental recognition and application of the original, fundamental, and universal principles of civil liberty, fraternal equality, and social justice. Can we safely trust these principles to work out the happiness of men and nations, or shall we hesitate to adopt them without first being able to point out all the details of their application? That man who, clearly perceiving the truth, hesitates to acknowledge it, is either a knave or a coward.

Socialists are not logically bound to furnish details under the *régime* of Socialism. There is indeed a presumption in favor of existing institutions, but this presumption in favor of capitalism is overcome. The preceding pages leave no doubt as to this; the *onus probandi* is therefore shifted. It has been conclusively shown that the hull of the present industrial ship is rotten and utterly unseaworthy; her keel of *private capital*, her vaulted ribs of *freedom of contract*, and her prow of *free competition*, all fused together and festering with the vicious principle of self-interest, have come to be, in the progressive evolution of society, economically indefensible and socially destructive assumptions.

Such is the leaky condition of the worn-out craft of in-

dividualism, endangering the lives alike of its capitalistic cabin passengers and its laboring steerage passengers, when the Socialistic Ship of State comes alongside and invites the imperilled passengers and crew to get on board. We examine the principles on which the new ship is constructed, and, finding them to be civil liberty, fraternal equality, and social justice, we are logically bound to accept them without regard to the particular manner in which the ship may be rigged. In other words, Socialists may logically insist on the adoption of these principles, leaving their application to future contingencies. The eternal, political, and moral verities on which our republic is founded were rightly regarded by our fathers as sufficient ground for the Revolution and guarantee for democracy. Questions of administration, the relations and reciprocal duties of citizens, States, and nation, the numerous details of the constitution, the particulars of legislation, repeals, amendments, and experiments — in short, the entire *modus operandi* involved and required in the successful working of a republican form of government were outlined but dimly, if at all, when the logic, none the less sound and conclusive, of Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill was applied in the name of Justice, Liberty, and Equality.

Those who would discuss details, or the working of a proposed theory in order to determine the *principle* of action, assume that the principle is one solely of expediency. A moral question admits of no such determination. Socialism is essentially a moral question, and herein lies the secret of its strength, the hope of its friends, and the terror of its enemies.

It cannot be proved inductively that the Socialistic state would increase the general happiness and contentment, for example and experience are wanting; but it can be proved, nay, it needs no proof, that the ethical principles on which Socialism builds are recognized as valid *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*. Distrust of these principles is pessimism. Their judicious application depends upon the exigencies of time and circumstances, and affords abundant room for the theories of philosophers, philanthropists, and statesmen.

He who insists upon any arbitrary or invariable application of them, whether a Socialist or individualist, is a fanatic or a crank.

The details of the Socialistic state, as outlined by certain Socialists, are not essential to its existence and successful working. On the contrary, they are wholly gratuitous. When, therefore, they are refuted by an opponent, let him not imagine that Socialism is thereby overthrown. Other details or application of the principles of Socialism are not only possible but extremely probable.

Notwithstanding all this, both Socialists and their opponents have laid such stress on certain assumed phases and factors of the new social order, and the popular mind is so prone to judge of Socialism according as it judges of these non-essential questions, we shall, in another chapter, consider certain practical features of the Socialistic state.

II. — *The Nature of the State critically examined.*

"The State is the politically organized national person of a definite country." — BLUNTSCHLI.

"Let the State be considered as subordinate to the people; but let everything else be subordinate to the State." — MR. JUSTICE WILSON.

We have reached a point in the discussion of the social question where the thoughtful reader will be led to ask, What is the State? What is its object, and what are its proper functions? Much of the confusion constantly met with in the discussion of sociological questions arises from the ambiguity of the word "state." Ordinarily the connection sufficiently determines its meaning, but when a writer comes to define it, or treat of its various functions, consistency is well-nigh impossible. At one time the State is the government; at another, all the people; again, it is society. It is regarded by some as an *organ*, and hence dependent; by others, as an *organism* and independent. With reference to its object the word is equally indefinite. With many it is to secure individual right; with others, to secure *social justice*. Again the primary object of the State is said

to be liberty, and the "confusion is worse confounded," since scarcely any two writers agree as to what individual rights, social justice, and liberty are. By one the State, in the exercise of authority, is regarded as an evil, a necessary evil; by another, as the highest good. Self-contradiction, opposite conclusions, and endless discussion result from this ambiguity.

The State has been defined as "the sovereign body having supreme power." The ancestor of this definition is tyranny. In this heredity, blood tells, for the definition is a chip of the old block. In a republic the "sovereign body" is the people; and the people also constitute the "supreme power." The definition, when applied to a republic, would therefore read *the people having the people*. We admit the great elasticity of the definition in question; this is why we object to it. A definition that holds everything must be ranked with the nostrum that cures all diseases.

Clearness demands that a writer should define his terms and invariably adhere to his definitions. By the State we mean all the people united under one constitution and *over* one government. Government is related to the State as agent to principal. The State is in no sense *under* the government. Of course we have in mind only a democracy. The largest society politically organized is the State. The State is therefore a politico-social *organism*, a whole as distinguished from an *organ* which is a part.

The several States in the United States are called such by way of accommodation only. Important corollaries follow this definition of State.

The State is the highest power on earth. Individuals are its constituent parts, its organs, and are related to the State as the different members of the body are related to the man. This relation is one of dependency and subordination. Although a body of men may determine the characteristics of a particular State, yet States are natural rather than artificial organisms; that is, they spring out of the social disposition and constitution of human nature. Government is "the acceptance of conditions which came into existence by

the sociability inherent in man, and were developed by man's spontaneous search after convenience.¹

The State is, however, more than a mere aggregation of dependent organs. It is a mighty personality; it possesses matter and mind, body and soul; it is not only a *political* being, but also an *economical, intellectual, moral, and material* being. So far from being a mere impersonal, political machine, it is a living, organized, and sentient personality. "Whilst history explains the organic nature of the State, we learn from it at the same time that the State does not stand on the same grade with the lower organisms of plants and animals, but is of a higher kind. We learn that it is a moral and spiritual organism, a great body which is capable of taking up into itself the feelings and thoughts of the nation, of uttering them in laws, and realizing them in acts. We are informed of moral qualities and of the character of each State.

"History ascribes to the State a personality which, having spirit and body, possesses and manifests a will of its own."²

The State is a co-operation which is everywhere regarded as endowed with all personal powers and capacities necessary to the accomplishing of its object.

What is this object? The answers given to this question are numerous and divergent. The immediate object of our fathers in establishing the republic, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, was to secure liberty; that is, freedom from British tyranny, or *political* liberty. On the other hand, it is asserted that the object of the State is to secure *individual* liberty. Another says it is to *guarantee rights*. Mill declared that its object was coextensive with the *general good*. Others declare that its object is to *establish justice*.

In the popular mind there is a sort of equivalence in these phrases, yet a little scrutiny will disclose two diametrically opposite conceptions of the proper functions of the State. The one conception makes the object of the State to

¹ "The State" (Wilson).

² Bluntschli's "The Theory of the State," p. 21.

be *individual* liberty ; the other, *social justice*. Liberty and justice are precious words, but they are far from being equivalent. Liberty means freedom from restraint. Justice often means restraint.

Individual liberty is not endangered in a free State ; on the contrary, it is the wolf in sheep's clothing which to-day threatens the stability of free States.

When kings and tyrants wantonly indulged in the destruction of the lives and confiscation of the property of their subjects, *individual* liberty and legal security became the shibboleths of the people. "This opinion arose in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In those days men sought to find some fundamental limitation to the over-government of that enlightened despotism which, benevolent as it was, proved oppressive and destructive of personal freedom, and which was accustomed to justify every interference with family life, with the free choice of a career, and with the administration of private revenues, by a professed regard for the general welfare. The definition of the end of the State as the maintenance of legal security seemed to offer a convenient weapon for opposing this over-government successfully."¹

When at length individual liberty became triumphant over the tyranny of monarchy and aristocracy in the erection of a republic, individual liberty was merged, or found its highest expression in the larger, grander liberty of the free State.

Individual liberty against the tyranny of a despot is one thing ; but against the liberty of all the people in a free State it is a contradiction. Nothing, however, is more common than to take this glorious old watchword of the politically enslaved, now embalmed in all our free institutions, and make it serve as an ægis for individual license, social inequality, and individual tyranny.

On the other hand, that conception of the State which makes social justice its chief concern accords with the soundest principles of right reason and Christian ethics.

¹ "The Theory of the State" (Bluntschli), p. 235.

"Justice," says Hamilton, "is the end of government" — *Justitia Fundamentum Regni*.

Social justice is legal justice plus equity. It is neither commutative nor distributive justice. It demands the public good, which is the good of each member of the State. *Salus populi suprema lex*. Madison declared that "the public good, the real welfare of the great body of the people, is the supreme object to be pursued; and no form of government whatever has any other value than as it may be fitted for the attainment of this end."¹ What does this principle mean when reduced to economic terms? It means that of any two citizens one should not have, simply because he is the smarter, two houses, two loaves, or two beds, and the other none. True, a country may be, in a sense, as rich when the bulk of property is owned by a few as when it is owned by many; but the conception of the State, *composed of all seeking the good of each*, is utterly opposed to the idea of the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many.

This idea, however, is the legitimate outcome of the individual liberty theory. It pays supreme homage to individual smartness, which plunges a dagger into the bosom of social justice. The end of the State, says Bluntschli, is "the development of the national capacities, the perfecting of the national life, and, finally, its completion."² This seems too sublimated for practical use, but it answers the author's purpose of broad generalization: it certainly contains the more immediate and tangible end of social justice, or the public good.

That the State in the minds of the founders of the republic embraced an entire people, and that its true object is social justice, which is equivalent to the public good as now explained, is evident from the preamble to the Constitution of the United States. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish *justice*, ensure *domestic tranquillity*, provide for the common defence, promote the *general welfare*, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do

¹ "Federalist," p. 198.

² "The Theory of the State," p. 300.

ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The "liberty" here spoken of is social rather than individual, public rather than private. It is the liberty of self-government, of the republican State itself. In order that this might be preserved, even the different States of the Union, by constitutional provisions, sharply separated the executive, legislative, and judicial departments. These several departments would serve as mutual checks upon each other. Madison says, "Usurpations are guarded against by a division of the government into distinct and separate departments."¹

This preamble to the grandest political constitution the world has seen is itself evolved from eternal and immutable principles. "We, the people," means that "none of us liveth to himself."² "To establish justice and promote the general welfare" is simply to realize "Peace on earth and good will to men." This was the mission of Jesus Christ himself. "In June, 1639, the leading men of New Haven held a convention in a barn, and formally adopted the Bible as the Constitution of the State."

The State established by our fathers was built upon the universal and imperishable truth which human selfishness and pride have ever sought to obscure and distort; namely, that all men are brothers. A social structure erected upon this fundamental truth must have for its tap-root not individual liberty, but social justice.

Madison, in commenting upon the Constitution, declares that "Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society."³

Notwithstanding this self-evident law of human society, the opposite conception of the State as the conservator of individual liberty, is still dominant in society and vigorously defended by those who desire by due form of law to thrive at the expense of their fellow-men.

Spencer, in his "Social Statics," says that "every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the like freedom of any other man." If this means

¹ "Federalist," p. 224.

² Rom. xiv. 7.

³ "Federalist," p. 225.

anything, it means that you have freedom *to kill and eat me*, provided you do not interfere with my freedom to treat you in the same manner. It is a gospel of muscle. It is a demand, in the language of Mr. Mill, "for an equal chance to everybody to tyrannize," in which case, of course, the strong have it all their own way. Professor William G. Sumner reiterates the same vicious principle, in his definition of civil liberty, which is, "*A status created for the individual, by laws and institutions, the effect of which is that each man is guaranteed the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare.*"¹

Several serious objections lie against this definition. In the first place, civil liberty is not individual liberty; it is not "a status" for the *individual* at all, but rather for the body politic, or society. The word *civil* necessarily involves the idea of *association*. It applies to man not as an individual, but as a *member of society*. Civil liberty is community liberty. It is not denied, however, that this public liberty admits of the highest status and liberty of the individual citizen consistent with the public good. Again it seems the climax of error to say that civil liberty guarantees to each man "*the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare.*" Here the *public welfare* is wholly ignored. Blackstone says, "Civil liberty is natural liberty, so far *restrained* by human laws as is necessary and expedient for *the public good.*"²

These two conceptions of civil liberty, both in statement and in their logical outcome, are as far apart as the poles of the earth.

Blackstone puts emphasis upon the terms "restrained," "the public good;" Professor Sumner lays stress upon the "individual," "each man," and "his own welfare."

This is individualism with a vengeance; it makes a part greater than the whole, and is both unphilosophical and unethical. This atomistic conception of civil liberty furnishes the foundation and justification of almost every species of social wrong. It is well-nigh inexplicable how

¹ "Social Classes," etc., p. 34

² "Commentaries," Book I. Chapter i.

a man born in a republic founded on equality, fraternity, and social justice, and reared amid Christian institutions, can conceive of civil liberty, the corner-stone of our grand and beautiful social structure, as equivalent to the unsocial, undivine, and wicked principle of human selfishness which alone guarantees to each man "*the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare.*"

It is the boldest indorsement and the cleanest-cut scientific formula of the diabolical maxim, "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," that we have met with. Was this the selfish motive that inspired our fathers to pour out their treasure and blood like water to establish the republic? May we substitute on the tomb of Captain Nathan Hale for the sublime and patriotic words, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country," the inscription, "I used all my powers exclusively for my own welfare"?

When our country was imperilled by the great rebellion, we left home and friends, as did tens of thousands of young men, to suffer and die, if need be, for the dear old flag; but we deny that one single soldier ever set out for the war, or marched one rod under a banner bearing the device, "each man . . . for his own welfare." In spite of himself and apparently without the slightest suspicion of inconsistency, Professor Sumner is led to say (p. 37) "there has been no liberty at all save where a State has known how . . . to set barriers to selfishness, cupidity, envy, and lust, in *all* classes from the highest to the lowest . . . and to create great organs of civil life which can eliminate, as far as possible, arbitrary and personal elements from the adjustment of interests. Liberty is an affair of laws and institutions which bring rights and duties into equilibrium." Here is a flash of sweet reasonableness from a lowering sky. Liberty setting "barriers to selfishness," eliminating "personal elements," and bringing "rights and duties into equilibrium," would usher in the social millennium, and is precisely what his quack "social doctors" are praying for; but this kind of liberty, so far from guaranteeing to a man "the use of

all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare," would compel him to make the public welfare of chief importance.

Notwithstanding these lucid intervals, the author works out his pagan social philosophy on the basis of his definition of liberty.

This pernicious notion of civil liberty is derived from that narrow conception of the State which regards its functions as identical with those of a policeman. Among its authors were Kant and Wilhelm von Humboldt, who "declared the State to be a *legal State*, in the sense that its sole duty was the maintenance of the *legal security of each individual*."¹

When every man, regardless of society, exerts all his powers "exclusively for his own welfare," and the State by its laws and authority plays second, the State becomes "anarchy plus the policeman." Far truer and nobler is Burke's conception of the State as a *partnership* of a people having for its end the *public good*. "It is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection."²

The State thus becomes a *necessary good*. The opposite theory makes it a *necessary evil*, bad for the good and good for the bad, since all restraint upon natural liberty is declared to be interference with natural rights. Jefferson regarded it as a maxim that "that government is best which governs least." On this principle, *no* government is best of all, and the anarchists are right. But since we cannot get along without the State, the evil is necessary.

"But," say the advocates of this view, "let us have just as little of it as possible. No restraint on individual liberty, if you please. We demand the liberty of the wise man to outwit the ignorant, of the swift to outrun the slow, of the strong to outdo the weak. We give you (the ignorant, slow, and weak) every chance that any one else (the wise, the swift, the strong) has. We are not all created equal, and, even if we are, we deny that we should continue so.

¹ "The Theory of the State" (Bluntschli), p. 65.

² As quoted *Ibid.*, p. 68.

We deny that we are *one body*, either in Christ, the State, or anything else; and we are not 'every one members one of another.' Our interests are separate and individual. Let every one look out for himself, and, as Professor Sumner says, 'mind his own business.' If the triumvirate of capital, contract, and competition divides society into 'shearers and shorn,' it is the decree of fate, weakness is wickedness, and conscience a crime."

This cold and cheerless philosophy thus justifies itself in mocking those who are outstripped in the cruel, competitive struggle for existence. It says to those naked and destitute of daily food, "Depart in peace; be ye warmed and filled," notwithstanding it gives them not those things which are needful to the body¹ and which they would gladly earn were it in their power. Dr. A. J. F. Behrends, commenting *favorably* upon Professor Sumner's definition of civil liberty admits exultingly that "the plain drift of legislation and public opinion for two hundred years has been in the direction of greater personal liberty, giving to every man the right to secure his well-being in his own way." It does not seem to occur to these gentlemen in their zeal for capitalism, of which it is the main support, that such a right belongs only to men in a savage state, or that this principle allows one man or set of men to gobble up all the real and personal property in a community or nation provided they are smart enough. They assure us further that equality, rights, liberty pertain only to *chance*, not to *results*.

That is, if the capitalistic system places bread seven feet from the ground, so that only the tallest are able to reach it, equality consists in giving short people the same chance with six-footers. Society may fix the height of bread, but it has no legal right to put a hassock under the man who cannot reach it. The only right "guaranteed" *him*, the "personal liberty . . . to secure his well-being in his own way," is the right and liberty of himself and family to starve or become pauperized. Thus the votaries of personal liberty feel the fires of industrial cannibalism.

This position, however, is essential to capitalism, which

¹ James ii. 15, 16.

rests upon the pagan's idea of property as an absolute right—hence the zeal with which it is defended. Mr. William E. Hearn, in his "Aryan Household," says, "The history of individual property and the history of personal liberty coincide." They must stand or fall together.

To-day the arch-enemy of society, of Christianity, of an advancing civilization, is personal or individual liberty as against civil or social liberty. Its application to modern industry is now working injustice and hardship that is no longer tolerable. A few men get control of the oil or coal, or other necessity of life, diminish the output, raise the price, and thousands suffer. Not long since *personal liberty* took possession of all the wheat in the country, raised the price of flour a dollar per barrel, and enriched itself, while multitudes went hungry. The Spring Valley Coal Company of Illinois refused to give employment to the miners who carried food and medicine to the hungry and sick people during a lockout. The relief committee were cowed and supplies ceased. The New York *Herald* says, "A more brutal and damnable action can hardly be conceived in a civilized community. . . Disease and starvation may stalk unchecked among helpless women and children."¹

This is characterized as "brutal slavery," but will the *Herald*, or Professor Sumner, or Dr. Behrends tell us where in Mr. Scott, the superintendent of this coal company, is doing otherwise than using "all his own powers exclusively for his own benefit," and this under the guarantee of the laws?

This is declared to be civil liberty! The cruelty in this case is readily seen and denounced, but it is no less real when farther removed from the cause, or the process is more complex and refined.

Much of the misery of laborers and their families can be traced with unerring certainty to this conception of civil liberty applied to industry, which is only natural liberty in its unrestrained and most brutal form. Personal liberty is summoned to the aid of every species of injustice and oppression. It boldly claims the right to corrupt public and

¹ December, 1889.

The following information was obtained from the records of the [redacted] Department of the [redacted] Government of the [redacted] State of [redacted].

[The remainder of the page contains several paragraphs of text that are heavily obscured by noise and artifacts, making them largely illegible.]

confer, is due to society or the State, which is as much entitled to its own as any person.

Relative rights the social man may justly claim, and if he claims more, it is because these, properly understood, afford no foundation for individual greed, aggrandizement, and tyranny.

This conception of the State practically disposes of the question of *laissez-faire*. If the State is an organism, and its end the public welfare, its functions must be coextensive with this end. The sole consideration respecting State interference in any matter whatever is, will it conserve the public welfare? The principle of *laissez-faire* is *per se* neither good nor bad. Its application in any particular case is *prima facie* a question of expediency. In the course of industrial evolution it has done grand service; but we have now reached a stage in the development of society where the demand for its modification is imperative.

Immense public interests, such as railroads and telegraphs, are controlled by private individuals for private gains. Legislation in behalf of private corporations is bought and sold like commodities. It is notorious that corporations resort to all the tricks and subterfuges which human ingenuity can devise to defeat any attempted legal limitation to their greed. They are often stronger than the government itself.

It is interesting to observe with what consummate *nonchalance* a few capitalists will ask the government for a charter to enable them to *serve the public* when everybody knows that their sole motive is to fleece the public and enrich themselves. Yet the government hastens to grant the franchise, the people applaud, the stockholders pose as public benefactors, and nothing is wanting to solemnize the farce but to call in a minister of the gospel of mammon to pronounce the benediction in the name of money the father, money the son, money the holy ghost, and to money be all the glory for ever and ever! Amen.

The eyes of the people, however, are being opened. Corporate greed, irresponsibility, and corruption, reacting most

¹ "Commentaries," Book I. Chapter i. p. 129.

dangerously upon political institutions, are seen to be sources of imminent peril to society.

Private monopoly, the industrial monstrosity now preying upon society, is the legitimate but ill-omened offspring of *laissez-faire*. The social body has become so compacted and complicated; the conditions of life are so changed; moral, political, and educational forces have so entered into the life of the people that discontent becomes dangerous, individualism becomes treason. Social justice requires that the State shall assume more of a fraternal character. It needs to be continually emphasized that the highest possible degree of personal liberty consistent with the public good is alone obtainable under a fraternal popular government.

The modern theory of the State as an organism is utterly inconsistent with the theory of *laissez-faire*. Herbert Spencer, although an individualist, lays the sure foundation of the socialistic state in showing that it is an organism. He compares the body politic with the highly developed animal body, and traces the analogies between them, but he shrinks from the conclusions of his own logic which would forbid one part of the animal organism to pursue its own interests independently of the other.

The "let alone" policy would make havoc with the human body. Professor Huxley, remarking upon this inconsistency, pertinently says, "Suppose that in accordance with this view, each muscle were to maintain that the nervous system had no right to interfere with its contraction except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle; or each gland that it had a right to secrete as long as its secretion interfered with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow its own interest and be 'let alone,' lord of all! what would become of the body physiological?"¹

There is of course a limit to State activity. Aristotle declared only a half truth when he said that man was a "political animal."

The lives of men are not completely expressed and bounded by the term citizenship.

¹ As quoted in "Modern Socialism" (Gröland), p. 89.

The politico-economic motto, *each for all*, no more destroys one's individuality in the community than does the command to love thy neighbor as thyself. It simply cuts up economic selfishness by the roots.

Socialism strikes primarily at economic injustice and touches other interests only in a secondary and resultant manner.

A thousand interests that make for human happiness would, under the co-operative commonwealth, be left as they now are to individual capacity and freedom.

"The State can confer on no one the delights of friendship and love, the charm of scientific study, or of political and artistic creation, the consolations of religion, or the purity and sanctification of the soul united with God."¹

Personal choice in all that pertains to the enjoyment of society, to marriage and domestic life, to recreation, travel, culture, religion, labor, the possession and use of all economic goods necessary to man's mental, moral, and physical well-being; will not be limited or controlled by the Socialistic State.

The co-operative commonwealth therefore furnishes abundant room for a newer and truer doctrine of *laissez-faire*. It is not the general happiness but the general misery that Socialism attempts to eliminate from society, and it advocates no changes not deemed absolutely necessary to this end.

¹ "The Theory of the State" (Bluntschli), p. 297.

CHAPTER V

THE INADEQUACY OF VARIOUS REMEDIES PROPOSED FOR
SOCIAL ILLS

"When the object is to raise the permanent condition of a people, small means do not merely produce small effects; they produce no effect at all." — JOHN STUART MILL.

THE various remedies proposed by those who are not yet willing to avow themselves Socialists, to cure social ills, are either Socialistic in character, by tending to unite the functions of employer and employee, or in harmony with the principles of Socialism.

Although inadequate, they serve to allay irritation on the surface, and are generally prompted by a sincere desire to restore peace and promote social justice. Let us consider these insufficient measures respecting each of which volumes have been written.

I. — *Profit-Sharing.*

"There is no reason why the least charitable and least philanthropic of masters should not adopt some form of extra payment for extra results, some simple form of profit-sharing, any more than that he should adopt piece-work instead of time wage." — *Westminster Review*.

Profit-sharing is of three kinds: first, without wages; second, with wages; third, through stock-owning. An example of the first kind is seen in fishing ventures, where the product divided among the crew is their only reward. This is, strictly speaking, *product-sharing*.

The second kind consists of a percentage of profits voluntarily given by employers in addition to wages.

The third kind takes place when the employees carry on the business themselves, thus uniting the functions of employer and employee. Profit-sharing, as we shall now con-

sider it, and which is generally intended by industrial partnership, is the division of a certain per cent of the profits among employees, in addition to wages.

In France, where it was first introduced in 1842, it is known as *participation*; In England, as *industrial* partnership; and in Germany and the United States, as profit-sharing. It is voluntary on the part of the employer. It is generally adopted as a purely business expedient, although a philanthropic motive plays an important part with some.

Many employers realize the injustice of the wage-system, and do everything in their power, consistent with business, to mitigate its evils. They establish reading-rooms, insurance and other relief societies for the benefit of their employees. Profit-sharing has several advantages. It increases the efficiency of the laborers; it increases their real wages; it renders them more contented, and therefore less likely to strike.

The greater attention and interest bestowed on the work diminishes the cost of superintendence; it diminishes the loss from waste; it brings employer and employee into more sympathetic and harmonious relations; it increases the profits of employers; and finally, because always proposed by employees, it supplies the long-felt *desideratum* of finding a way of benevolence without sacrifice, of giving without impoverishing.

Many of the advocates of profit-sharing see in it an escape from our industrial troubles. Rev. N. P. Gilman, in the introduction to his excellent treatise on "Profit-Sharing," says, "It is surely one of the most promising methods of securing the peaceful and fruitful union of the productive forces of modern industry;" and he quotes (p. 412) the economist J. H. von Thünen as saying it is "the only salvation of the laboring classes."

We cheerfully admit that profit-sharing is a step in the right direction; that its general adoption would be an immense gain to industrial society. It tends toward that union of employer and employee which finds complete and logical expression in Socialism. But would profit-sharing solve the

labor question? Would it satisfy the just demands of wage-workers and thus restore industrial harmony?

That it would do neither of these things is evident from the following considerations:—

1. Profit-sharing has no sound *economic basis*.

There is only one party to it, and that is the employer. He proposes it; he decides when a surplus of profits exists, and how much it is; he lays down rules for apportionment and distribution among employees; in a word, he manages the business and the books, without any right of interference or question by employees, and from his decision there is no appeal.

All these things give profit-sharing the appearance of a *gift bestowed*, whereas it is a *payment earned* if it has any economic validity. It is not legally a gift which must take effect immediately; it is a mere promise without consideration and cannot be enforced.

2. Wage-workers demand not merely greater wages, which they have already obtained, but a *greater proportionate share of products* in accordance with the new ethics of social justice.

The parties engaged in a joint enterprise are better satisfied with nothing than with an unjust division of the spoils. The social question is one of proportion, of comparison. Profit-sharing not only offers no balm for this, the real wound of industrial society, but aggravates the difficulty. Mr. Gilman, in the work just quoted (pp. 415, 416), says that employers who have adopted profit-sharing “generally agree that the division of a bonus among the working men is good business policy; . . . in most cases they claim that their own share is greater than the whole profits were under the simple wage-system.” By what means has their share become “greater”? Through whose efforts are they enriched by extra profits? Let Mr. Gilman answer. “Out of this extra profit comes the share of men *whose diligence and care have created it.*” The italics are ours.

This means that the share of the employee is increased by *more work*, while the share of the employer is increased by *less work*, since he is relieved in a measure of superintendence and anxiety.

Profit-sharing thus *reduces the proportionate share* of workmen. If extra profits, or, in other words, more goods, are produced solely by the "diligence and care" of employees, to them should belong the goods. No part of them should go to capital, for this has played no part in creating the surplus: no part should go to the employer, for he has done actually less. Every consideration of justice demands that laborers who have, by increased exertion, produced more, should alone have the fruit of their labor. To bestow a part of this on the laborer and a part on the employer is what profit-sharing graciously offers to do! Any scheme, whatever advantages it may seem to possess, that fails to give workmen a larger proportionate share of the products is doomed beforehand.

3. Profit-sharing affords workmen no *guarantee* of a share of profits, even although entitled to it.

A year of the most painstaking service may be rewarded by the dishonest withholding of the bonus, and the workman has no redress.

Mismanagement may also deprive him of it. This would open the door to discontent and ill-will. Business depression might produce the same result; so also might expenditures for repairs and improvements.

This element of uncertainty seems a serious objection to this scheme of which so many good things can be said. It may be replied that the employer himself must be subject to uncertainties. True, but he is behind them, foresees them, and has a chance to control circumstances and prepare for contingencies.

4. A fatal argument, implied in the foregoing but worthy of special emphasis, against this scheme is that *many employers cannot share profits, for they have none to share.*

Ninety per cent of business men fail; or, as a French writer puts it, "ten out of a hundred succeed, fifty 'vegetate,' and forty go into bankruptcy." Most employers, therefore, cannot promise any bonus.

This fact ends profit-sharing so far as affording any *general* relief.

5. Profit-sharing, by distributing a certain per cent of the profits to employees, *spreads before the public* annually the actual condition of a man's business.

This is what he desires to keep secret and what other capitalists desire to know. If profits are large, capital will be attracted to this business till it is overdone, when profits cease and wages fall. The man who adopts this scheme therefore labors under serious disadvantages. If profits are large, he invites competition; if small, or nothing, he invites criticism, distrust, and ruin.

The inexorable law of competition thus stands directly across the path of profit-sharing.

6. Profit-sharing is not *adapted to many kinds of business*, and therefore can afford no general relief to wage-workers.

In industries in which the value of the product depends largely upon the efficiency of the workmen, the principle can be applied to the best advantage. But in industries in which machinery is the principal factor, in which little skill on the part of labor is required and superintendence is easy, profit-sharing promises little; and it should be observed that new and improved machinery is rapidly bringing most industries into this latter class. Again, large bodies of wage-workers, such as carpenters, masons, farm-hands, street laborers and other employees of cities, wharf hands, etc., cannot from the nature of their work have any participation in profits. Any co-operative scheme or union of capital and labor so limited in its application as to leave large classes of laborers subject to the injustice of the wage-system may indeed be here and there temporarily adopted and ease friction, but cannot commend itself to practical men.

7. The history of profit-sharing shows that it has been *tried* and *discontinued* in a large number of industries. Professor Edward W. Bemis states, doubtless through inadvertency, that "with one or two exceptions . . . not a failure of the experiment can be found in this country or in Europe."¹ In the seventeenth Annual Report of the

¹ "Co-operation in New England," in publications of the American Economic Association, November, 1886.

Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Mr. Wright shows that of the six experiments in profit-sharing in the United States, *four were failures*; viz., A. S. Cameron & Co., Brewster & Co., both of New York; a mercantile experiment, which he says was "the most extensive trial of profit-sharing by bonus ever made in Massachusetts . . . was discontinued, because . . . too many showed no appreciation of its benefits;" and Lester Brothers, Newark N. J. The failures are far more numerous in Europe than in the United States.

Indeed, so far is profit-sharing from being an established success "with one or two exceptions," that, of the seven instances in New England cited by Professor Bemis himself, one, a shoe establishment of Brockton, Mass., was not a case of profit-sharing, but a percentage on capital paid in by workmen; one, the New Haven Wire Company, merely proposed the plan to the employees, which was *rejected*; and indeed *only one of the entire seven had ever paid a dividend*. Its friends claim that in many cases of discontinuance the failure was due, not to anything inherent in the system, but to extrinsic causes. This is true and is the most damaging and conclusive testimony against the system *as a solvent* of the labor question. Extrinsic causes are as fatal as intrinsic ones. Bullets in battle are extrinsic. The extrinsic causes so hostile to profit-sharing are the *sine qua non* of capitalism, and ever-increasingly active. The principles of profit-sharing and capitalism are antagonistic, and can no more unite than oil and water. They may indeed be stirred up together and a seeming union secured, but it will be abnormal and temporary.

The mistake is continually being made, of considering the phenomena of profit-sharing apart from and independent of the hostile forces of the capitalistic system on which it is unnaturally grafted. Profit-sharing, when successful, has generally been under the guiding hand of a master mind, who has generally and bravely stepped forth from the ranks of employers with the purpose of improving, not only his own, but the condition of his employees.

The feature that renders this scheme attractive to econ-

omists and philanthropists is its Socialistic one; namely, the tendency to unite the interests of employer and employee. Our contention is not against this tendency, but against the claim that the abortive and sporadic application of it by profit-sharing is sufficient. A careful consideration of this method of co-operation shows its inadequacy. Its history and working show that it is exceptional, indefinite, capricious, and opposed by the whole genius of the existing industrial system. Notwithstanding all this, it concedes the justice of the laborer's claim to a larger share of the product, and is, as we observed at the outset, a step in the right direction. We shall be glad to see it more generally adopted, as an encouraging sign of progress toward that larger and juster union of economic forces which Socialism demands and which alone will restore industrial and social peace.

II. — *Co-operation.*

"The pathology of co-operation may be studied with profit."

PROFESSOR AMOS G. WALKER.

Co-operation, in its broadest sense, means *to labor together*, and by implication, for the same end, and in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and sympathy. This is the economic and ethical key-note of Socialism. Indeed, the term co-operation was first applied to industry about 1820 by Robert Owen, the founder of English Socialism.

This reformer, moved at the hard lot and degraded condition of laborers, proposed the establishment of working communities of from 500 to 3,000 people with 1,500 or more acres of land for each community. Each should carry on agriculture and manufacturing with the best machinery, and offer every variety of employment. Work and the rewards of work should be in common. "As these townships," as he also called them, "should increase in number, unions of them federatively united shall be formed in circles of tens, hundreds, and thousands," till they should embrace the whole world in a common interest."¹

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," title, "Owen, Robert."

Such was the expectation of the founder of the co-operative movement in England. A scheme so humane in its aims, so curative of social ills, so Christian in its principles, and so promising in outlook attracted wide attention. Many thought the era of industrial association and equality was about to dawn. It is needless to say the expectation has not been realized. Old Plutus does not abdicate so easily. The capitalistic system admits of variations, but it is capitalism still. Mr. Holyoake says, "The term co-operation was at first, as the reader sees, used in the sense of communism, as denoting a general arrangement of society for the mutual benefit of all concerned in sustaining it. Later the term co-operation came to be restricted to the humbler occupations of buying and selling."¹

Thus the great industrial principle announced by Owen took form and developed in a manner different from his expectations. So far from becoming a general movement, based on the motto "each for all and all for each," it was only able to unite individual bodies of laborers for purposes of trade or manufacturing; thus securing a partial and temporary advantage in the struggle with competition.

Holyoake defines the term thus: "Co-operation, in the social sense of the word, is a new power of industry, constituted by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist, and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality, by which honesty is rendered productive. It is the concert of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment."² This definition is very general. It can be made to fit Socialism or its extreme opposite, individualism, and it includes profit-sharing. It reminds us of the answer of a western physician who, after a fifty-mile drive over the prairies visiting patients, was thus rallied by a friend who had accompanied him: "How is it, doctor, that you have given the same medicine to all your patients irrespective of their ailments?" The doctor spiritedly replied, "Bless your heart, there are forty-five different

¹ "History of Co-operation," vol. i. p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

ingredients in that medicine, and it is a pity if some one of them doesn't fit each case!"

This definition of co-operation fits about all the social theories that have been proposed. An "equitable combination," "gain fairly shared," is all anybody asks; but what is this, and how can it be secured? The truth is co-operation is too large a term to fit the partial schemes of individualist social reformers. No definition that does not measure integral co-operation, or the co-operative commonwealth, will be ethically satisfactory, or socially scientific. What is historically known as co-operation has been confined chiefly to distribution. This consists in the union of many consumers for the purchasing of commodities and the dividing of profits on the basis of the amount of purchases. "Such co-operative unions are upon the continent of Europe termed 'consumers' societies.' As has been said, 'they have succeeded in making twenty shillings of earnings go as far as twenty-two or twenty-three in an ordinary shop. The true problem of co-operation lies deeper: that is, how to secure the original twenty shillings in workshops under their own management.'"¹

Co-operation in production is indeed the real problem. Can it be solved under the existing *régime*? Can substantial headway be made in this direction in the face of capitalism? To the first question we answer unhesitatingly no. The answer to the second is doubtful.

We have no contention with those who advocate co-operation in every direction. We heartily believe in it; but we join issue when they assure us that this is not only efficient, but *sufficient*. With them we point with pride to the history and results of co-operation. Great Britain, where the scheme has been most thoroughly tried, had, in 1830, 300 societies with a membership of 20,000; in 1852, the number of societies had dwindled to 140; in 1862, it had increased to 450, with a membership of 90,000 and a capital of \$2,250,000; in 1883, the societies numbered 1,304 and the membership 680,165. To this membership \$120,420,560

¹ Carroll D. Wright; "Seventeenth Annual Report, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor," p. 12.

in profits have been saved and distributed. If partial co-operation can achieve such grand results, what might not be expected when the pure and divine principle had the field all to itself as it would in Socialistic co-operation?

The phenomena of co-operation in the United States are peculiar.

The term is applied to so great a variety of associations that no single definition can contain them. We have co-operative building and loan associations, co-operative insurance and agricultural associations, and co-operative stores. The order of the Patrons of Husbandry (Grangers) is a national co-operative association of farmers for the wholesale purchase and shipment of goods by the local grange. The Sovereigns of Industry, not limited to farmers, sought the same object. Co-operative creameries are a later development of this principle. The term co-operative is equally indefinite when applied to productive enterprises. It includes joint-stock concerns owned wholly or in part by workmen without dividends to labor, and also profit-sharing through stock-owning. The great variety of methods to which this term is applied is a hopeful sign; it shows the expansive power and adaptability of the principle of co-operation and the growing esteem in which it is held. No means are at hand of ascertaining, even approximately, the total amount of co-operative business done in the United States. The figures for New England for 1886, as given by Professor Edward Bemis, are \$7,000,000.¹ He describes 18 stores and 12 manufactories on the co-operative plan. Professor Amos G. Walker says, respecting co-operation in the West, that he has obtained information "regarding something over 30" stores, and he describes 50 productive establishments.² The co-operative business of the country for the year 1890 is probably not less than \$20,000,000. Co-operation thus assumes an importance that few have suspected. That the movement has only begun

¹ "Co-operation in New England," p. 136, in Publications of the American Economic Association, November, 1886.

² "Three Phases of Co-operation in the West."—Publications of the American Economic Association, March, 1887.

may easily be believed. It is beginning to be felt that man is not only a political, but a co-operative being. Co-operation is now the industrial watchword among wage-workers. There is magic in the word. There is every reason to believe that what the principle has done for capital, from the simple forms of co-partnership to the trust, it can do for labor, and will do as rapidly as wage-workers acquire sufficient intelligence to apply it.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that this partial or individual co-operation can be a substitute for integral or universal co-operation. It may, and we believe it ought, to be a precursor of it. It is a necessary link in the chain of industrial evolution.

The "New Nation" must be ushered in by evolution, not revolution. The kingdom of Socialism, like the kingdom of heaven, cometh not by violence.

We offer eight reasons showing why partial co-operation cannot restore industrial peace :—

1. It is a half truth, and no half truth ever yet had an easy chair or permanent lease of life.

2. It can be applied to but few industries, and no scheme will be accepted as an ultimatum that leaves the great mass of wage-workers unprotected.

3. It is the function of government, not of classes, to establish justice.

Social or industrial justice, outraged by the existing system, like civil justice, must have the power of the State behind it. This great truth is ignored by those who advocate partial co-operation as sufficient.

4. Competition is the arch-enemy of co-operation. It has slain its hundreds. At Lima, O., the regular merchants agreed to sell each, some one article below cost, and the co-operative store was forced to collapse. There is no cohesive principle between co-operative stores or manufacturing ; each is for itself and against another, and capitalism is against them all.

5. Wage-workers have not sufficient intelligence for co-operation except in a few industries. Thorold Rogers says that men trained in the habits of due subordination

and unhesitating obedience are necessary to success in co-operation.¹

Holyoake, speaking of the causes of failure, says, "As soon as the sunshine of success warms up the scheme, the envies and jealousies crawl out like parasites, and, in some cases, when human nature is worse than in others, they overrun everything and make the society morally uninhabitable."² Professor Bemis, who adduces this testimony himself, declares that men of an exalted "type of Christian manhood" are needed in all co-operative enterprises. "The men who have succeeded in co-operation," says Professor F. H. Giddings, "have been men of superior character and energy."³ Such men are of course *exceptional*.

Individual co-operation, therefore, must generally end in failure. It is the uniform testimony that co-operation fails because co-operators fail to co-operate, and they fail for want of intelligence and moral discipline.

6. Co-operative *Production*, after an experience of three-quarters of a century, has hardly a name to live. Most of its experiments have been like man born of woman, of few days, and full of trouble. A few industries of peculiar character, like the coopers' shops of Minneapolis, where the *entrepreneur* function is of small account, may succeed; but unless co-operative production can bring relief to the great body of wage-workers, it is not the remedy society demands.

President Earle, of the Sovereigns of Industry, exclaims, "What avails the successful operations and the increasing trade of distributing societies, if the relative position of capitalist and laborer, the employer and the employed, is to remain the same, and the poor toiler is still to be satisfied with the little he can obtain in the general scramble for the wealth which his labor produces?"

7. Co-operative distribution, so far as it aims to get rid

¹ As quoted by Edward W. Bemis, in "Co-operation in New England," in Publications of the American Economic Association p. 17.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Co-operation" in "The Labor Movement the Problem of Today," p. 523.

of the middleman, has an ever-narrowing field. The massing of capital and the power of monopoly enable the wholesale dealer to convert the retailer into a mere agent for dispensing his commodities. This does away with the independent middle merchant, and brings the consumer as near the producer as does the co-operative store.

Examples are furnished in nearly every branch of trade. Immense dry-goods stores cheapen goods, "as do the co-operative stores in England, by cutting off the profits of the small middlemen." It is notorious that the large brewers in New York control the saloons so that the saloon-keeper is practically a wage-worker. Vast clothing establishments are constantly sending to individuals throughout the country samples of goods, rules for self-measurement, etc., thus doing away with the small local dealer and his profits.

8. Co-operation is seriously, if not fatally, handicapped in the matter of management and supervision. Capitalistic enterprises can, and co-operative will not, if they can, pay the highest price for skilful management. Mr. Thomas Brassey asks, "Where shall we find co-operative shareholders ready to give 5,000 pounds a year for a competent manager? And yet the sum I have named is sometimes readily paid by private employers to an able lieutenant."¹

Professor Walker presents an unanswerable argument in this connection against co-operation. He says, "Co-operation . . . is nothing more or less than getting rid of the employer, the *entrepreneur*, the middleman."² It is certain that the "*entrepreneur* function," under capitalism, is of increasing importance to success in business. As competition intensifies, markets are extended, means of communication multiply, fashions change, machinery improves, and new methods are demanded. Qualities of the highest order are required in the successful manager, and these will be had at any cost. Professor Walker, after a brief survey of the ill success of co-operation in England, France, Germany, and Switzerland,

¹ As quoted in the "Wages Question" (Walker), pp. 277, 278.

² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

well says, "Small groups of highly skilled artisans . . . carefully selected . . . may achieve success, . . . but where laborers of very various qualifications, of all ages and both sexes, are to be brought together in industries which involve a great many processes requiring differing degrees of strength and skill, and which produce goods for distant, and perhaps, at the time of production, unknown markets, we see as yet scarcely a sign of the services of the employer being dispensed with.

"What, then, is the reason for this comparative failure of industrial co-operation? I answer, the difficulty of effecting co-operation on a large scale is directly as its desirableness. It is solely because of the importance of the *entrepreneur* function that the employing class are able to realize those large profits which so naturally and properly excite the desires of the wages-class; and it is for precisely the same reason that it is found so difficult to get rid of the employing class."¹

These are among the reasons why partial co-operation, which is generally understood by the term, cannot restore industrial peace.

Most capitalistic economists speak kindly of the movement and gladly record any instance where it has afforded wage-workers even a slight relief. As men humane and Christian, they wish it well and hope it may have something of a future, but as consistent economists of capitalism they know it is abnormal and can have no scientific basis.

Nothing short of the co-operation of Socialism can withstand the mighty power of competition. To this position taken by Mr. William Morris, Professor F. H. Gidding replies, "This is to overlook the vitally important truth, that there are monstrous evils associated with competition at present, which have grown up through the shameful neglect of the government to fulfil its primary functions of *protecting equal rights and enforcing justice*."² The italics are ours.

¹ As quoted in the "Wages Question" (Walker), pp. 274, 275.

² "Co-operation" in "The Labor Movement the Problem of Today," p. 531.

Here is the marrow of the social question. A government that stands for "equal rights" and "justice" is all that Socialism demands. But the new ethics require a new and enlarged conception of the terms right and justice. Whatever may have been the primary functions of government in a primitive and rude condition of society, the higher and more complex organization to-day would seem to require a new application and extension of these functions. The evolution of industry and revolution in science, the increase and congestion of population and wealth, and the advance of civilization have wrought such a social transformation, and so changed all human relations and institutions that *equal industrial as well as political rights, and social rather than merely commutative justice* are imperatively demanded.

The great body of Socialists approve partial co-operation as a means, but not as an end. It is not the full corn in the ear, but it is the blade. If it be asked how the blade is to advance against the hostile forces of capitalism, we reply, God and the new ethics will take care of the truth. These are puissant forces which capitalism and political economists will be obliged to reckon with, notwithstanding the claim that they lie outside the economist's province. Every one of these eight obstacles to co-operation disappears under Socialism. The chief one is perhaps the insufficient intelligence of wage-workers. Would this not defeat universal as well as partial co-operation? By no means. Let co-operators have behind them the united, collective intelligence of society, crystallized in industrial laws, and the evil is remedied. If two heads are better than one, the heads of all the citizens are better than two or any number less than the whole. Here we see the moral and educational value of law. It is the expression of aggregate wisdom, and is therefore wiser than any single legislator or body of legislators.

Law alone makes extensive co-operation of any kind possible. The State is a co-operative establishment; the same is true of all political and social institutions. Why not apply the same principle to industry?

If laborers cannot voluntarily, for want of intelligence and moral discipline, co-operate, they might gladly do it by the aid and support of law. It requires a power beyond individual control to cause men to acquiesce in what is for the common good. In cheerful obedience to this power we build our highways, maintain public works and institutions, pay our taxes, and in a hundred ways do what, if left to ourselves, we would not and could not do. This power springs directly from that united and collective intelligence which would cause men to labor harmoniously in integral co-operation.

III. — *Conciliation and Arbitration.*

"It is not an end nor a solution of the problem. It is on the way to the end, and is much nearer it than a strike or a lock-out."

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

Those who look to industrial Conciliation and Arbitration as a means of permanently reconciling the opposing forces of labor and capital, have made a very superficial diagnosis of the disease which afflicts society; and they will find little encouragement from any school of social philosophers. Conciliation is related to arbitration as moral suasion is to legal suasion. Conciliation effects a settlement by the parties themselves through the friendly offices of a conciliator. Arbitration effects a settlement by a third party, an arbitrator, who, after the hearing, pronounces judgment. He may be appointed by the parties themselves, or by some superior authority. The proceeding should be under statutory provisions and the result binding.

This manner of settling differences between capitalist and laborer was first adopted in France at the beginning of the century, and has proved of great benefit to French industry. In 1847, 19,721 cases, and in 1850, 28,000 cases were settled by these councils of *prud'hommes*. The number annually settled in France varies from 35,000 to 45,000. This is a remarkable record, and is doubtless due in part to the legal character of the proceedings. Courts of conciliation and arbitration are established by law. These are

called councils and are composed of an equal number of employers and workmen, elected by their respective classes, and a president and vice-president appointed by the government. On the application of either party, the other is bound to appear, and the cause at issue is heard and the decision enforced by law. How this council differs from a regular court of law may be inferred from the fact that generally an agreement is reached in the course of the proceedings by *conciliation*, rendering a formal judgment by *arbitration* unnecessary.

The ratio of cases thus settled was as seven to one in 1847.

A recent report gives the number of councils as 136. Of the 42,000 cases brought before them, about 16,000 were amicably settled, about 12,000 were voluntarily withdrawn before the termination of the proceedings, and about 13,000 were referred for judgment.

In England and the United States conciliation and arbitration have played a far less important part than in France. The legal and compulsory features are more objectionable, and the industrial conditions somewhat different. An English statute providing for compulsory arbitration has been inoperative for more than half a century.

Mr. Rupert Kettle says, "It is agreed that according to the spirit of our laws and the freedom of our people, any procedure, to be popular, must be accepted voluntarily by both contending parties."¹

During the last twenty years Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration in England, organized on a purely voluntary basis, have accomplished excellent results. Several States in this country have established Boards of Arbitration with good results. Mr. Wright says, "Of the great value of arbitration and conciliation as means of settling trades disputes, there can be no question. That it is infinitely to be preferred to the barbarous method of strikes and lock-outs is scarcely a subject of argument. In the terse language of Mr. George Howell, formerly secretary of the

¹ As quoted by Carroll D. Wright in "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration in England," p. 9.

Trades Union Congress, 'the whole question lies in a nutshell. Is brute force better than reason? If it be, then a costermonger may be a greater personage than a philosopher, and Tom Sayers might have been considered superior to John Stuart Mill.'"¹

Strikes and lock-outs are not, however, the same as "brute force," and they are daily less attended with violence. Neither is the award, even when accepted, generally regarded as right "reason."

There is important truth, however, in what Mr. Howell says. In conciliation and arbitration each party recognizes the other as possessing rights which are to be respected. Each party deprecates the injury which both must suffer by standing out. Each sees clearly that "discretion is the better part of valor." In these respects reason resorts to a referee and bids the parties submit to the award, although each considers it unjust. Under the circumstances it is the best thing to do. The daily increase of friction between labor and capital renders conciliation and arbitration a necessity as industry is now organized. It is the safety-valve which will of itself blow off and prevent explosion till the old boiler of capitalism is worn out and condemned, and *as such* we heartily commend it and hope to see it more generally adopted.

That it offers no permanent basis of peace to the hostile forces of capital and labor is evident from the following considerations:—

1. Conciliation and arbitration *settle nothing*. They touch no principle, remove no injustice. The real *casus belli* remains. They may, and often do, show that the relation between wages and profits is, *for the time being*, not exactly what was supposed.

2. They are entirely outside the pale of the economics of capitalism, unless it be in the matter of the saving of waste, which the economists of capitalism naturally let pretty much alone. Conciliation and arbitration can get little help therefore from this source.

¹ As quoted by Carroll D. Wright in "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration in England," p. 54.

3. The thoroughly uneconomic character of this scheme is more fully seen in the fact that its object generally is to *fix wages for the future*. This is impossible, since everybody admits that wages continually vary. The state of the market to-day, an important factor in making up the award, may change to-morrow and thus leave the parties more dissatisfied than ever.

4. Courts of conciliation and arbitration entail an expense which in the last analysis labor must bear. Suppose the cases brought before the councils in France have averaged 35,000 for fifty years, this would be a total of 1,750,000 cases; suppose \$25 to be the cost of each case; this would amount to \$43,750,000, and this enormous sum would represent the *waste* in France alone caused by the necessity of keeping open this outlet, through which the pus of the bruised and wounded body industrial may escape. Add to these figures the expense of maintaining these councils and boards in other countries, and we get some idea of the tremendous tax they lay upon industry, and we are in a position also to appreciate the shallowness of the utterance of Governor Bishop of Ohio in his message to the legislature of 1880: "Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation are a simple, *inexpensive, and complete* plan by which labor troubles may be avoided." The italics are ours. It is no sufficient answer to this objection of *waste* to say that strikes and lock-outs would have been more wasteful, when waste from both causes can and ought to be avoided by an ethically just and economically scientific organization of industrial society. Any system that necessitates enormous waste is essentially and scientifically uneconomic, whatever it may be called.

5. So far from being "a complete plan by which labor troubles may be avoided," conciliation and arbitration are merely an armistice whereby each army hopes to gain an advantage over the other, or it has the effect of nightfall in the midst of battle: each army can take breath and bind up its wounds, can get fresh supplies of rations, ammunition, bring up reserves, and devise new stratagems for a more desperate renewal of the conflict on the morrow.

All this, however, may be in harmony with the evolution of industry. Each stair is necessary to the flight. It is well if it leads upward.

Conciliation and arbitration certainly lead in this direction. We approve them moreover as substitutes for strikes and lock-outs and violence, as we would have approved similar boards to settle differences between the American master and slave as a substitute for the lash, the bloodhound, and the auction block.

As every consideration of general justice demanded the abolition of slavery, so it demands the abolition of capitalism. As the former should have been accomplished by peaceful and gradual means, so should it be with the latter. This is why Socialists, following the injunction of their great Founder and Leader, Jesus Christ, advocate all measures looking to the peaceful and gradual emancipation of labor.

IV. — *The Nationalization of Land.*

"Everybody knows that the greatest part of the wealth of modern society is not concentrated in the hands of the landlords at all, that it has not accrued from rent, and that it would not be a farthing the less though private property in land were abolished to-morrow." — JOHN RAE.

We have seen in a former chapter (chapter iii. section ii.) that the evils which now threaten social institutions spring out of private capital in land and other means of production. Socialism demands the nationalization not only of land but of all industries so far as necessary to secure social justice. Not that this step should be taken at once, but gradually and with due regard to the rights of all classes.

It believes that in no other way can an equitable distribution of wealth be brought about. This is precisely the end sought by the advocates of land nationalization. Mr. Henry George is one of the ablest representatives of those who believe that the governmental ownership of land alone would suffice to right all industrial wrongs. "We must therefore substitute for the individual ownership of land a common ownership. Nothing else will go to the cause of

the evil—in nothing else is there the slightest hope.”¹ He accepts the dictum of Herbert Spencer, which indeed is everywhere gaining the approval of thoughtful minds, that “Equity does not permit property in land.”

We shall see, however, that every reason he gives for the nationalization of land applies to all the means of production. It is not difficult to understand why he should regard the monopoly of land as the most fundamentally and obviously unjust; but it is not equally clear why he should overlook the glaring injustice of other monopolies that spring, not from land, but from other forms of capital.

He claims as the foundation for the superstructure he rears, that three factors are employed in production—land, labor, and capital; therefore the product should be distributed into three corresponding parts; namely, rent, wages, and interest. He says land, unlike other means of production, is the gift of God to the race. Every man must have access to it to sustain life. To monopolize it is therefore robbery. The form this robbery takes is rent. Rent absorbs all that labor earns save a bare subsistence, and all that capital earns save a bare interest. Rent therefore is the cause of poverty and the source of all industrial discord. These evils he asserts will disappear if we abolish private property in land and make it as God and nature intended, the common heritage of all.

We believe in the nationalization of land; but the question is, would this alone usher in the era of industrial peace and plenty, while individual capital, contract, and competition remain undisturbed? Mr. George thinks it would. As we cannot admit his conclusion, we are bound to point out the defect in his reasoning. Mr. George bases his argument on Ricardo’s law of rent. He says, —

“The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use.”² This least productive land is called the margin of cultivation. It will pay no rent, for it yields only enough to give the laborer a bare subsistence, and this constitutes his wages.

¹ “Progress and Poverty,” p. 295.

² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Any land that will produce more must pay the surplus in rent. As population and wealth increase, there is continually a resort to poorer land; that is to say, the margin of cultivation is extended (crowded down) and always to the disadvantage of the laborer, for rent takes all above what the poorest land in use produces. "Rent invariably proceeds from the employment of an additional quantity of labor with a proportionately less return."¹ *Rent therefore increases as wages relatively decrease.* What causes the rise of rent, or what forces the laborer to resort to poorer land? The increase of population and wealth, that is the *progress of society*; neither the landlord nor the laborer does anything to cause it. Although the former, sitting still, grows rich, the latter, working hard, grows relatively poorer.

This unjust and cruel condition of things must continue so long as land is private property.

We have outlined the position of Mr. George respecting land and labor; but what of capital, the third factor in production? Has this anything to do with social ills?

Nothing, according to Mr. George. Capital along with labor is crushed beneath the iron heel of rent. How is this? The explanation is, that the margin of cultivation determines interest just as it does wages. If capital joins with labor in cultivation, it will receive its share of the product, which equals interest. Rent, in this case, absorbs everything but wages and interest. Mr. George is building logically on the foundation of the accepted law of rent.

He substitutes the term interest for profits, but this is immaterial. "No matter what be the production that results from the application of labor and capital, these two factors will only receive in wages and interest such part of the produce as they could have produced on land free to them without the payment of rent—that is on the least productive land or point in use."² Capital, therefore, is subject to the margin of cultivation, and, like labor, is continually, as population and wealth advance, forced to resort to poorer land, and all that it can produce above interest—

¹ "Ricardo" (McCulloch), p. 37.

² "Progress and Poverty," p. 153.

a bare subsistence for capital — goes to the landlord in rent. "The general rate of interest will be determined by the return to capital upon the poorest land."¹

Thus the law of wages is the law of interest. Thus capital in its misery joins hands with labor, and together they tread the path of oppression and degradation.

We have followed Mr. George with a good deal of sympathy, but this conclusion staggers us. Something is wrong. Truth is before all things. It is not true that all the earnings of capital, save the meagre returns obtained from the poorest land on which it is employed, are absorbed by rent. We have only to look around us to see capital employed, and vast fortunes piled up, where rent is an insignificant factor. It is not true even that rent absorbs all the fruit of labor above the margin of cultivation. Capital is everywhere, if not *facile primus, a particeps criminis* in this absorption. It is not true that capitalists are "dumb driven slaves" under the lash of landlords. The names of capitalists who can buy up of the land-owners whole townships is legion. It is not true that capital can secure no greater interest or return than what can be secured on the poorest land in use. On the other hand, this is the lowest, most unsatisfactory return capital receives; and in some rich countries the men who are land-poor are to be commiserated. These facts are so patent that it is idle to discuss them. How, then, does Mr. George come by such conclusions? In the first place they furnish a solid basis for the nationalization of land; in the second place, they are perfectly logical deductions from the accepted principles of current political economy. By a little manipulation of terms Mr. George has, with great ingenuity and splendid rhetoric, traced out the Ricardian and the orthodox law of rent, wages, and profits to their natural, logical, but absurd and even ridiculous conclusions.

No economist who accepts these laws has successfully answered or can answer Mr. George on *the merits of his arguments*. They admit the laws which are his premises, but, while objecting to his conclusions, fail utterly to show

¹ "Progress and Poverty," p. 182.

wherein they are illogical. Mr. Rae makes a formal attempt to overthrow them; but it consists in petty criticisms on side issues and a somewhat lofty tone of irony. For example, he shows that Mr. George, after correctly stating the law of rent, falls into the inconsistency of first claiming that rent is determined by wages, and then that wages are determined by rent, and what is Mr. Rae's conclusion? That the law of rent does not, from its very nature, take all but a bare subsistence from the laborer as Mr. George claims and is trying to show? Not at all; but merely that Mr. George "does not understand the law of rent!"¹

It may be that in the genesis of rent and wages, wages in the first instance fix rent and then rent fixes wages. The landlord, not the laborer, is finally master of the situation; and the master generally has something to say about what part of the produce shall go to the slave. All this, however, has nothing to do with the main argument of Mr. George. Mr. Rae criticises also the views of his opponent on population, subsistence, the use of the term interest for profits, and other points not material to the issue, while he observes an ominous silence respecting the most unwelcome but remorseless logic of the law of rent on which Mr. George securely builds.

That law is that rent is the entire produce of land above the returns that labor and capital obtain on the poorest land in use; that is, land which can be had for nothing. All returns from capital, above what can be obtained from the poorest land in use, go to the landlord, "Because no employment more profitable can be found for it. The common rate of profit would be in that proportion, and if the original tenant refused, some other person would be found willing to give all which exceeded that rate of profit to the owner of the land from which he derived it."²

The latest American authority, Professor R. T. Ely, confirms this law. "Now, what determines the amount of rent? . . . The poorest land cultivated. . . . What is received comes simply as a return on capital and labor. . . .

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 427.

² "Ricardo" (McCulloch), p. 37.

Whatever surplus land yields above returns on labor and capital is rent."¹ That is to say, the landlord takes all the returns from capital save what it can earn when invested on "the poorest land cultivated."

Mr. George has thus abundant authority for saying that rent absorbs everything; that it robs labor of all but a bare subsistence, and capital of all but the lowest interest that is anywhere obtained.

Competition comes to the support of this law of rent by assuring us that the lowest rate of interest for which capital will be employed is the highest that it can anywhere obtain. It ill becomes the advocates of current economics, after indorsing a theory of rent that makes it an insatiable leech sucking the blood of labor and capital alike, to criticise Mr. George for tracing out the theory to its legitimate but absurd conclusions, thus compelling them to eat their own words. Mr. Rae even goes to the length of saying that the continual rise of rent, so far from being a source of oppression, does not enter into the price of the product. He says, —

"No part of Ricardo's theory is more elementary or more unchallenged than this, that the rent of land constitutes no part of the price of bread, and that high rent is not the cause of dear bread, but dear bread the cause of high rent."²

Is it true that the rent of land does not affect the price of bread? Does not dear land make raw material harder to get and hence dearer? Does anybody really believe that dear raw material does not make dear manufactured product? Is it replied that this begs the question, which is, does high rent increase the price of food? Let us see. I pay at the rate of \$20 per cow for the use of a pasture, and sell milk at six cents a quart, and just make a living. Rent is increased to \$40 per cow. Must I not raise the price of milk? To ask the question is to answer it, and yet we are told that rent constitutes no part of price.

Does anybody believe that to double the rent of corn-

¹ "Political Economy," pp. 215, 216.

² "Contemporary Socialism," p. 428.

land would not raise the price of corn? Suppose I pay \$50 rent for a piece of land on which I raise corn that will sell for \$100, leaving me \$50 for my labor, which is the least I can live on. The next year \$100 is demanded in rent, but I must still have my \$50 for labor. What follows? The same crop or quantity of corn must bring \$150; that is, the price of bread is raised one-third. Is it replied that rent cannot be thus arbitrarily raised because poorer land would be at once resorted to? We answer that all the land in the community may be already under cultivation, and subject to the advanced rent; or, in case of land remote, its cultivation is impracticable because beyond the limits of comfortable conditions of life. see next page

The objection falls to the ground. We need not debate the matter. Rent is being continually thus raised, and tenants are forced to pay the increase, and bread is dearer in consequence. Incidental causes as, machinery, railways, etc., may tend to keep bread down, but no thanks to rent; it is in spite of it. As increased rent makes dearer bread, so decreased rent makes cheaper bread. Professor R. T. Ely, however, says, "If rent paid were abolished, price would not be altered. Ask any tenant if he would lower the price of potatoes if his landlord would release him from paying rent."¹ Let us see. Suppose a township of fifty farms of equal fertility and rental value, only twenty-five of which are cultivated. Each of these pays a rent of \$100. All raise potatoes only. They sell for \$1 per bushel. Each farmer must sell 100 bushels to pay rent. Now, suppose rent abolished. The farmers, of course, begin to coin money. Potatoes at \$1 per bushel and *no rent*, is an attractive state of things. The next year every one of those twenty-five before uncultivated farms is in demand. They are planted to potatoes. The crop, one hundred per cent greater, is carried to market. The market is glutted, and lo! potatoes bring only 50 cents per bushel. What is the matter? Why, rent was abolished. Here comes Professor Ely's farmer with a big load of potatoes for sale. We will interrogate him as requested.

¹ "Political Economy," p. 216.

"Will you lower the price of potatoes, your rent having been released?" He replies, "No; but potatoes have lowered themselves." We are not surprised, therefore, that Professor Ely, almost in the same breath, says, "A part of price usually paid is rent."¹ No theorizing on rent, as determined by the margin of cultivation, can vitiate this practical conclusion. There is land in every direction uncultivated and fertile, but for which a high rent is demanded.

In case of a short crop and high prices, farmers will the next year plant a few acres more, and price drops because supply exceeds demand. It is doubtless necessary, in a theoretical science constructed to maintain capitalism, to say that, "the rent of land constitutes no part of the price of bread," but it does violence to common sense, and tends to bring into contempt a science which might be a blessing to society, if only a clean heart could be created and a right spirit renewed within it.

If economic rent is what the current political economy declares it to be, Mr. George is right in claiming that rent robs labor and capital alike, and is the one cause of industrial strife and social misery. If the law of rent is obsolete or inoperative from any cause, then Mr. George is wrong. That it is obsolete is evident from the inapplicability of its corollaries to the present industrial conditions. Ricardo says that the value of corn is regulated by the quantity of labor bestowed on its production on land that pays no rent.² This, if ever true, is not true now. There is no such corn land in use. Any structure built on this foundation leans more than the tower of Pisa. If it contains any truth, it must be traced through the far-away vista of primitive industrial conditions.

The value of corn in London or New York depends on land, labor, capital, railroads, ships, insurance, pools, gamblers, commission merchants, retail dealers, and many other minor factors. There is something wrong in a political economy that, instead of lending us a helping hand in

¹ "Political Economy," p. 216.

² "Ricardo" (McCulloch), p. 38.

time of need, bids us, if we ask information, to seek the answer by going round the house, behind the barn, over the fence, across the field, through the woods, down into the swamp, where land and everything else can be had for nothing, because good for nothing.

We do not live there, and we do not propose to take the conditions of sustaining life there, to explain the complex life of progressive society, or to furnish a basis and justification for the ever-increasing oppression of the weak by the strong by means of the wages-system.

Ricardo unwittingly contradicts himself in his speculations about rent. He says, "Corn is not high because a rent is paid, but a rent is paid because corn is high; and . . . no reduction would take place in the price of corn, although landlords should forego the whole of their rent. Such a measure would only enable some farmers to live like *gentlemen*, but would not diminish the quantity of labor necessary to raise raw produce on the least productive land in cultivation."¹ We have italicized the word "*gentlemen*," who are the men who do nothing. Here Ricardo lets the cat out of the bag. Let us see if the men who "live like gentlemen" affect the price of corn. We will suppose a little colony of ten men on an island; by working each ten hours per day they can raise just corn enough to have three meals each day. By some means, it matters not what, two of the ten get the ownership and control of the island, and say to the other eight, "We are now '*gentlemen*' and must live without work. You may work the land if you will give each of us corn enough for *four* meals each per day as rent." The other eight have no alternative but to submit. Now, how does this change affect the price of corn?

Not at all, we are told. But let us see. Two men have become non-producers, but larger consumers; that is to say, six meals less are produced, while two meals more are consumed. The demand now exceeds the supply by eight meals on account of rent, and yet we are assured the price of corn will not be raised. As surely as the law of supply and

¹ "Ricardo" (McCulloch), p. 39.

demand affects price, so sure is it that the price of corn will advance. It is not true, then, that "corn is not high because rent is high." It will be observed that in the case supposed population has not increased, nor is there a state of diminished returns. Indeed, do we need to argue a moment to show that the more non-working gentlemen landlords there are, the harder it is for the workers and the dearer bread will be, other things being equal, which we are bound to assume in discussing the law of one thing? It is amazing to see the sophistries and subtleties to which political economy has resorted to prove that the member of society who does nothing does not live by the additional sweat of the laborer's brow. Is it said that in the case supposed corn is dearer, not because rent is paid, but because there are fewer workers? Well, then, we ask what makes fewer workers? Is it not because rent is paid? Certainly. Is it not true, therefore, that "corn is not high because a rent is paid"? The fact which everybody knows to be true, but which economic rent is obliged to deny, is that *just in* proportion as gentlemen (non-producers) increase, bread will be dearer, and, if all aspire to be gentlemen, bread cannot be had at any price. It may be replied, "The law of rent depends on the margin of cultivation, but there can be no resort to poorer land on an island all under cultivation." We reply, first, your economics claim that water must be regarded as land. Poorer land therefore is in abundance. "The landlord, however, whose estate is bounded by a kelp shore of this kind, demands a rent for it as much as for his corn-fields. The sea in the neighborhood of the islands of Shetland is more than commonly abundant in fish. . . . The rent of the landlord is in proportion, not to what the farmer can make by the land, but to what he can make, both by the land and by the water."¹

Second, if the last argument is not conclusive, consider this: Great Britain is an island, and is there a single acre in all its territory that can keep a decent life in a man's body that can be had *for nothing*, which is always the margin of cultivation? Rent always begins at this point.

¹ Smith's "The Wealth of Nations" (Rogers), vol. i. p. 153.

Land that can be had for nothing, without deprivation that renders life not worth living, is getting scarce even in America. We do not know of any free land where, under the changed conditions of modern life, a man can rear a family in ordinary comfort and respectability.

These are among the infirmities that attach to the current law of economic rent on which Mr. George builds. As we have seen, there is no such law in operation. There is no available land that can be had for nothing. Rent is not now based on "the original and indestructible powers of the soil."¹ It is not based on agricultural lands or their fertility at all. It would be far more correct to say that rent of land is based on situation. Rent, however, in law and as everywhere understood, is not based on land at all in the economic sense, that is, on the naked soil. Land in law and in common speech has long since included improvements. Blackstone wrote in 1753: "Land comprehends all things of a permanent, substantial nature. . . . If a man grants all his lands, he thereby grants all his mines, . . . his woods, his waters, and his houses as well as his fields and meadows."² More than half a century later (1817) Ricardo elaborated a theory of rent that ignored and continues to ignore the established meaning of the terms land and rent. "Rent," says Blackstone, "is a certain profit issuing out of lands and tenements corporeal."³ Rent, then, is not based on the soil alone, as Ricardo claims, but pertains to buildings and other fixtures which have become blended with the soil. But more than this: it is not true that "the rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use," that is, on land which can be had for nothing. How can it be true in a community where there is no such land? Most men live in such communities. Rent values are fixed, not by what the land will produce, or by any other one factor, but by the progress of society.

¹ "Ricardo" (McCulloch), p. 34.

² Chitty's "Blackstone," Book II. pp. 13, 14.

³ *Ibid.*, Book II. p. 32.

It is not true, as the law of rent assumes, that wages are fixed by the margin of cultivation; that is to say, that wages are the return from labor alone on the poorest land in use which is had for nothing, all above this return going to rent except what goes to interest in case capital has been employed. This we admit to be a necessary deduction from the law of rent. But those who adhere to the law of rent deny this conclusion. Wages may or may not equal this standard, but that they are not determined by it has been shown in Chapter III., Section IV. It is not true, as the law of rent assumes, that the returns to capital, call it interest or profits, are fixed by the margin of cultivation; that is, by such returns as capital employed on the poorest land in use will yield. Interest, especially if, as Mr. George claims, it includes profits, is much higher. Interest in this sense is all the way from nothing to 500 per cent. It depends on the amount of capital seeking investment, on the security offered, that is to say, upon the risk taken; it is fixed in some places by statute. To-day it is one rate, to-morrow another. It is one rate here, another there. The law that governs interest is about as fixed as the law that governs the course of a butterfly. It has indeed its limitations, but they are not determined as Mr. George, following the law of rent, declares, by the margin of cultivation.

Political economy has been too largely a system of *a priori* speculations that contradict the most palpable facts. The question how rent arises, has no more to do with practical economics of to-day than the question how sin got into the world has to do with practical Christianity. These are some of the errors which have led Mr. George to conclude that rent is alone responsible for social ills. Another error consists in treating land as something different from capital. When all the land is owned by private individuals who have paid for it a valuable consideration, such land stands related to industry and commerce precisely as all other private capital stands related. It differs in its origin from other forms of capital more than these forms differ from each other. It is also limited in quantity, but that it is a form of capital cannot be disputed. Professor

Francis A. Walker includes "proprietors of land and owners of other forms of wealth which may be used productively in one capital-class."¹ Land, then, is capital, and it greatly simplifies a discussion to call things by their right names. If land is capital, two factors, labor and capital, instead of three, land, labor, and capital, enter into production. If only two factors enter into production, the product should be divided into two parts, wages and interest, instead of into three or four, rent, wages, interest, and profits. There is no end to the confusion introduced into the discussion of economic questions by disregarding this simple rule. Mr. George does insist on calling all returns from capital interest; but in treating land, as do Ricardo and his followers, as something different from capital, he is hopelessly stranded on the shoal of rent. Rent is sole bar to the removal of poverty, the head and front of all social and industrial offending. It matters not what names, for the sake of convenience, may be given to the returns from the different forms of capital,—rent may express the return from land, interest the return from money loaned, profit a return from capital employed in business, a dividend embracing both interest and profit,—all of these are happily included under the general term interest. Interest, as thus used, would vary from nothing to the largest return realized from capital. Land, being, as we have seen, only one form of capital, would not by becoming common property remove the evils of capitalism.

Once let Mr. George regard land as capital, and he would demand the abolition of all private capital as the real oppressor of society, and not merely a single form of it called land. That land monopoly is a great evil we do not deny; but monopolies of other forms of capital are frequently, at least for the time, more oppressive than that of land. It is true that "to whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him belong the fruits of it." The same can be said of the other means of production under modern conditions. He who owns the mill and machinery owns the product.

These other forms of monopolies will not be destroyed by

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 224, 225.

the nationalization of land. "Progress and Poverty" offers no argument to show that they will, except the one derived from the law of economic rent. This law we have shown to be a misnomer, or, at least, to have little or no application to existing industrial conditions.

People with a slight acquaintance with these conditions will be slow to believe that with the great engines of capitalism, capital, contract, and competition free and individual, in full blast, the nationalization of land alone will usher in the industrial millennium, as claimed by Mr. George. Mr. Rae goes so far as to say, "Everybody knows that the greatest part of the wealth of modern society is not concentrated in the hands of the landlords at all, that it has not accrued from rent, and that it would not be a farthing the less though private property in land were abolished to-morrow."¹ That it would tend, however, to a more equal distribution of wealth seems well-nigh certain, and for this reason we welcome any plan for accomplishing it that will be just toward land-owners. The plan proposed by Mr. George that government should take forcible possession of all land by confiscating rent, thus robbing multitudes of land-owners who have purchased and paid for their land, frequently with the savings of a lifetime of toil, is so repugnant to reason, so vicious in principle, it so outrages every sense of justice, that we are left to wonder how a head so clear and a heart so humane could suggest a measure so anarchistic and villanous.

V. — *An Eight-Hour Day.*

"The eight-hour movement; . . . it disturbs no existing interests; it does not change the relation of buyers to sellers, or laborers to employers." — GEORGE GUNTON.

A powerful and widespread agitation for a normal day's labor of eight hours is now in progress. Mr. George Gunton has presented able and exhaustive arguments in favor of the movement.² We sympathize with his con-

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 421.

² "Wealth and Progress."

clusions, not, however, on account of the "economic philosophy" from which he deduces it, but principally on account of moral considerations. Under conditions of political freedom, as the number of those who do nothing increases, the shorter will be the day of the workers: and this without primary regard to "economic philosophy."

Law or custom generally fixes the length of a day's labor in different countries. In several States in this country it is ten hours.

Taking the country at large and including all occupations, the average day is about eleven hours. In England the statute day is nine and one-half hours; in France, twelve; while in Germany custom fixes the laboring day from twelve to fourteen hours. A reduction to eight hours would therefore in this country, if generally adopted, take off three hours from the present average working day.

Cogent reasons are urged in favor of an eight-hour day. Justice demands that wage-workers should have more *leisure* for mental and moral culture. Eight workmen out of ten, after a day's labor, are too exhausted for mental exercise. Many of them no sooner take up a book or paper than they fall asleep. Too weary to read or to think, or to take an interest in public affairs, they are dwarfed in mind, and settle down to a plane of living but little above the animal. Leisure, therefore, is said to be the indispensable condition of improving the laborer's lot. The increased productivity of labor, chiefly by the aid of machinery, renders it possible to supply all the needs of society with less labor than heretofore. Mr. Leone Levy, an English statistician, says, "One and a half hours' work per day by each individual would do the work of the world." Franklin thought that in his day four hours would suffice. The increasing speed of machinery often puts a strain upon the workman which necessitates shorter hours. Improved machinery and increased speed enabled the employer to compress twelve hours' work into less than ten. "The speed of the spindles has increased upon throstles 500 and upon mules 1,000 revolutions a minute; i.e., the speed of the throstle spindle, which in 1839 was 4,500 times a minute,

is now (1862) 5,000; and of the mule spindle, that was 5,000 is now 6,000 times a minute, amounting in the former case to one-tenth, and in the second case to one-fifth additional increase."¹

The ten-hour day no sooner went into operation than capital sought to compensate itself by thus heightening the intensity of labor in increasing the productivity and speed of machinery. It is indeed questionable whether a shorter day of intense application is better for the laborer than a longer one of moderate effort. What he needs for mental, moral, and social culture is not only more time, but more strength. It does not follow that because labor produced as much in ten hours as before in twelve, it will produce as much in eight as it does in ten hours. Such reasoning, if carried farther, would lead us to the absurd conclusion that production could be carried on without any work whatever. There must be a limit, and, with whatever of reason, labor has fixed on eight hours as the ideal day. It is coming to be more clearly recognized also by thoughtful men that the stability of the republic rests, not simply on what is called universal suffrage, but upon the intelligence and social well-being of the masses. The first condition for greater intelligence is more leisure. It is worthy of notice that the intelligence and social well-being of the individual worker, or classes of workers, is in proportion to the shortness of their hours of labor. The amount of human energy required in work differs so much in the various occupations, that no day of a fixed number of hours can do equal and exact justice to all wage-workers.

We believe that all labor should be by the hour, and the hours should vary in the different occupations. In the industrial evolution, however, an eight-hour day may be a realized fact in the near future. Labor not only demands it, but it finds favor in public opinion as voiced by the press, by philanthropists and statesmen. The Knights of Labor, in their declarations of principles, demand an eight-hour day, as do most, if not all, labor organizations. It was adopted in Australia in 1855. It is the legal day in this

¹ Report of Factory Industry, "Capital" (Marx), pp. 413, 415.

country for government employees. It is already adopted in various trades in Great Britain and in this country. Up to May, 1881, the carpenters in the United States had obtained an eight-hour day in 137 cities, including 46,197 men, and in other localities they obtained nine hours a day. In answer to a circular recently sent by the American Federation of Labor to five hundred prominent persons throughout the country, asking their opinion as to whether laborers should be required to work more than eight hours per day, and as to its effects "upon the economic, social, industrial, and commercial condition of the people of our country," nearly all who replied gave the movement their unqualified approval. Among these were Professor Robert Ellis Thompson, Congressman Chipman of Detroit, Senator Blair of New Hampshire, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Congressman McKinley of Ohio, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, and Senator Stewart of Nevada, Professor Thomas Davidson of Orange, N.J., Congressman Frank Lawler of Chicago, and Honorable P. A. Collins of Massachusetts, who says "two hours more of fun, air, family, books, rest, and recreation cannot but enormously help in health, morals, and mind those who would use them wisely."¹ It is of course no insuperable objection to an eight-hour day that it cannot be applied to all industries; farmers, domestics, sailors, accountants, clerks, teachers, and other workers would be as little affected by an eight-hour as they are by a ten-hour day. If it applied to the great body of mechanics and artisans and wage-workers, it would accomplish its object. That the change, if effected, should be brought about gradually is of the greatest importance. To precipitate a change so great would bring disaster upon capitalists and laborers alike. It should be first introduced into those trades which could most readily adjust themselves to the change; for example, the building trade would be as little disturbed as any; it might then be applied to the iron and steel trades. Working men have recently shown great wisdom in urging this movement. They have

¹ "Public Opinion," Jan. 18, 1890.

appealed to reason, and their peaceful methods have done much to win the sympathy and support of the public.

Thus far we have said nothing of strictly economic effects of shortening the hours of labor. Would it increase or decrease the production of wealth? What would be its effect on distribution, on wages and profits, and on industrial conditions generally? We are assured that it would benefit them all. We cannot share these sanguine expectations.

Mr. Gunton concludes his book with these words: "If an eight-hour system for adults and half-time system for all working children under sixteen years of age could be uniformly adopted in this country, England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland, its effects upon emigration, enforced idleness, business depression, and upon real wages, together with the growth of intelligence and social character would in twenty-five years change the face of the industrial and social institutions of Christendom."¹ Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, says, "Amid the diversity of theories advanced for the solution of the labor problem, the eight-hour movement has held its place as the measure nearest the heart of the laboring man."² We take issue with those who claim that an eight-hour day will cure the evils of capitalism, and who therefore characterize as utopian other plans of reform, including Socialism. We offer the following considerations in support of this view:—

1. If an eight-hour day "would in twenty-five years change the face of the industrial and social institutions of Christendom," and thus give to its present anxious, angry visage a serene and contented aspect, why, we ask, have not these happy results attended the shortening of the day's labor in the past? In 1802 England by statute shortened the day in woollen and cotton mills to twelve hours. How about the "face" of labor? For the succeeding twenty-five years it was haggard with a poverty deeper than before. Wages "sunk about seventeen per cent from

¹ "Wealth and Progress," p. 382.

² "Public Opinion," April 26, 1890.

1814 to 1818; about twenty per cent more in 1819-20; about twelve per cent more in 1821; and five per cent more in 1822."¹ Again, in 1832 the ten-hour bill was introduced into the Parliament of Great Britain. How about the "face" of labor during the years that followed? It wore an expression of dissatisfaction that finally gave place to wrath which found expression in Chartism. Violence and bloodshed threatened the foundations of society.

In 1847 a ten-hour law was enacted, and the following year went into effect. How about the "face" of labor now? Men like Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, and Frederick Maurice, alarmed and horrified at the sufferings of the laboring classes, came to their rescue in the co-operative movement of Christian Socialism to which, rather than to a shorter labor day, the hopes of English working men are now turning. At about the same time the ten-hour agitation began in this country, and discontent has grown *pari passu* with the reduction of the hours of labor. It is not claimed that discontent has been in consequence of shorter hours, but in spite of them. Neither is it claimed that wages have not absolutely increased. Had they not increased, while the rich continued to grow richer, the day of judgment for society would have come ere this. The assertion, therefore, that a shorter day of labor "would in twenty-five years change the face of the industrial and social institutions of Christendom" is contradicted by history.

2. The real question at issue is one not of *time* but *wages*. Labor refuses to be longer exploited by capital. It demands not fewer hours, but *more product*, all the product honestly produced by it. "The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor."² Labor will be satisfied with nothing less. This, the just reward of labor, an eight-hour day will not give.

3. An eight-hour day *changes no principle of the industrial organization*. The fundamental economic assumptions, capital, contract, and competition free and individual, re-

¹ "Work and Wages" (Thorold Rogers), p. 110.

² "The Wealth of Nations," p. 67.

main in full force. The normal working of these principles has produced the tremendous inequalities and glaring injustice that threaten society. Why, then, treat the social disease as if it was caused by long hours of labor?

Patch the social garment, if you please, but do not put the patch just on one side the hole and then shout *eureka!* The adoption of an eight-hour day could no more restore industrial peace, while the unjust and oppressive principles of capitalism remain intact, than the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 could restore political peace between the American Colonies and Great Britain, while the latter asserted the absolute power of Parliament over the Colonies. The repeal indeed was received with great rejoicing: pealing bells, booming cannon, bonfires, and thanksgiving in the churches proclaimed the event that was to right all wrongs and insure lasting tranquillity. In just ten years the curtain rises again, and we behold a deadly conflict over an unjust principle, which no side issue or superficial tinkering could longer bury out of sight. An eight-hour day may come and be hailed with demonstrations of joy and yield a temporary peace, but the next scene will reveal a fiercer struggle between the unjust assumptions of capitalism, which are the real disturbers of the peace, and the rights of labor.

4. An eight-hour day not only changes no principle of the industrial organization, it effects no change in the *relation of the so-called factors in production*, or in any department of industry.

Capitalists, employers, laborers, and consumers will stand related to each other as before. It is very probable that profits of capital, wages of labor, and prices to consumers would bear about the same ratio to each other as at present. Any disturbance of these relations would depend upon the manner of the introduction of the shorter day, and would be, in any event, only temporary.

5. An eight-hour day would not increase wages absolutely. This is not saying that wages will not rise in the future as in the past, but that they will not rise in consequence of a shorter labor day.

We have already seen that the time element does not necessarily affect wages. The increasing strain upon the laborer, owing to improved methods of production, render a reduction of the hours of labor from time to time necessary. It is a mistake to attribute the increase of wages in the past, due to steam and machinery, to the reduction of the hours of labor. "The more the productiveness of labor increases, the more can the working day be shortened; and the more the working day is shortened, the more can the intensity of labor increase."¹

If the eight-hour day should be introduced at once in the various departments of industry, a temporary rise in wages per hour would surely take place. The work laid out and waiting to be done, the customary demand for commodities which would continue for a while, would call for one-fifth more laborers. This would, for the time being, cause "two bosses to be after one man," which would raise wages by increasing the rate per hour if not by the day. But this state of things would not continue. Many small traders, who barely live on the ten-hour system, would go out of business. Production would decrease and prices advance. These would be the immediate effects of a general and sudden adoption of an eight-hour day. Mr. George Gunton says the reduction of hours to eight would, by the census of 1880, call for 3,552,059 new laborers. This he says would raise wages, increase production, injure no one, but help everybody and hasten the millennium. Let us see: we will suppose there are 1,000,000 in enforced idleness. Suppose all these to be at once employed; deducting this number from the 3,552,059 that would be needed, leaves 2,552,059 laborers *needed to keep up the present supply of economic goods in this country alone*. They are not here. Where are they coming from? Immigration could not help us, for a similar state of things would exist in other countries; that is to say, each country would at once employ all its laborers in enforced idleness, including its able-bodied paupers, and then be short of laborers necessary to its present production by millions. This country, as we

¹ "Capital" (Marx), p. 540.

have seen, would be short by 2,552,059, with no possible means of supplying them. Mr. Gunton overlooks this little circumstance, and assures us that "twenty per cent more factories and workshops would be needed, besides setting all our present idle machinery in operation."¹ He does not offer to show *how* he can dismiss hands and start idle machinery, or how, with practically 2,500,000 fewer workers, he can start up thousands of new factories; but he assures us that by an eight-hour day this vast number of additional laborers would be at once needed to maintain the present production, and wages would rise, production would increase, and profits be undiminished. Mr. Gunton admits that if Socialism had such "a scientific basis" as this scheme, it would warrant the overthrow of existing institutions.² He tells us also that this "is not a fanciful speculation." We have seen also that it is not a fact. Mr. Gunton's zeal has led him into error. An eight-hour day, generally and suddenly adopted, would temporarily greatly lessen production and profits and advance wages and prices. The laborer would be no better off and the employer would be worse off, and very soon all parties, owing to diminished production, would be absolutely worse off than before. But another tendency would appear along with these changes and soon counteract them; viz., improvements in production; the factors before named, better machinery, increased speed, better facilities for transportation, new applications of natural and mechanical forces, new devices for condensing and intensifying work, which capital can furnish *ad infinitum*, would, ere long, counteract the immediate effects of an eight-hour day, and wages would become, relatively to profits, what they are now if they did not fare worse. For be it remembered that while wages have absolutely advanced they have, *relatively* to profits, fallen with every reduction of the hours of labor. *For want increased efficiency of laborer.*

6. An eight-hour day would not ultimately affect profits.

That its immediate and temporary effect would be to lower profits we have seen; and this is the object of

¹ "Wealth and Progress," p. 254.

² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

labor in demanding shorter hours; viz., to lower profits and raise wages; and we admit that if wages should be permanently raised, profits would permanently fall, if uninfluenced by other factors. But we have seen, in considering the effect of shorter hours on wages, that capital, by increasing the productivity of labor in the manner specified, secures its profits under all circumstances. Given free capital, contract, and competition, and capital will be king. Never, so long as a political economy based on these assumptions exists, will you find a Dives sitting at the feet of Lazarus. Profits have always increased, not *in consequence* of a shorter day, but *after it*. Many instances are at hand of the adoption of an eight-hour day with no lessening of profits. Mr. Lewis Miller, manufacturer of agricultural implements in Akron, O., after several years of an eight-hour day, says it has not diminished production; i.e., profits.¹ Professor Munro of Owens College, England, after examining six mining districts with reference to their hours of labor, finds that "the output of coal per miner in each district increases or diminishes in inverse ratio to the number of hours worked;"² that is to say, profits are larger as the hours are fewer. There must of course be a point below which this result could not take place.

Public opinion and labor unions may help to secure a shorter day, and labor will secure a temporary gain thereby; but capital supported by the right wing of free contract and its left wing of free competition, and backed by the puissant forces of law, custom, tradition, and social institutions will continue to have something to say in a division of the spoils with labor.

A few industries may adopt an eight-hour day without temporarily diminishing production, but they are *exceptional*. An ordinary laborer at ordinary work will produce more in a ten-hour than in an eight-hour day. This every laborer and every employer knows, if he knows anything. If other things were equal, therefore, a shorter day would

¹ "Public Opinion," April 26, 1890.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1892.

lessen profits. But other things are not equal; on the contrary, they tend steadily and irresistibly to counteract the advantage which the shorter day would give to labor.

7. It is a significant fact that many laborers fail to see any benefit in an eight-hour day. The members of the Printers' Association in Washington *voluntarily* voted to repeal the rule prohibiting members from working more than eight hours. A great trades union, the Printers' organization, voted down a proposition for a nine-hour day during last year (1891). In September, 1891, the Trades Union Congress, in session at Newcastle, representing 2,000,000 English laborers, voted that the eight-hour day should not be compulsory in any trade without the consent of two-thirds of its organized members.

Mr. Gunton rests his entire argument for an eight-hour day upon two assumptions: first, that "wages are regulated by the standard of living"¹ in the different occupations, second, that this standard of living depends on the wants of the laborers, which would be greatly increased by the leisure and social opportunities of a reduction of the hours of labor. It is doubtless true that leisure, which Mr. Gunton clearly distinguishes from idleness, as time for intellectual and moral improvement, would develop wants. He does not, however, consider whether it would be wise or safe to increase the wants of the working masses further or faster than the means of satisfying them. The trouble now is that wants have developed faster than wages, the means of meeting them. To increase them therefore would be to add fuel to the flame. The industrial boiler has about all the steam she can carry. To get up more steam therefore by increasing the laborer's wants is to invite an explosion. The reply to this is that increased wants will cause increased production and so preserve equilibrium. This is a pure assumption; at all events, the remedy is less certain than the disease. It is, to say the least, a novel way to restore industrial peace by "the increase of human wants," as Mr. Gunton proposes. The ordinary intellect will cer-

¹ "Wealth and Progress," p. 193.

tainly be excused for not at once seeing by what magic a half-starved man can be satisfied by increasing his hunger. Mr. Gunton's chief error lies in his first assumption that a man's wages depend on his standard of living. This economic dictum heretofore current contains only a modicum of truth, as appears from the following considerations:—

1. Adam Smith mentions five causes which determine wages, but not one of them is the "standard of living."

2. In the accepted law of rent, wages are determined (by necessary implication) by the margin of cultivation; that is to say, wages are the product of labor alone on the poorest land in use.

3. The consensus of political economists of the present day will not warrant the dictum that wages depend upon the "standard of living" which labor chooses to adopt, without regard to other industrial conditions.

4. Ask any employer if, when he hires a laborer, he first asks him as to his "standard of living" and fixes the wages accordingly, and he would laugh in your face.

5. Ask any laborer if, when he applies for a job and is asked his price, he names a price based on his "standard of living," and he also will laugh in your face.

6. So far from the truth is it that wages depend on the "standard of living" that the exact opposite is truer; namely, that the *standard of living* depends on *wages* and changes with every variation in wages.

7. No factor controlled by labor is more important in fixing wages than efficiency.

8. This whole theory of Mr. Gunton that wages are governed by the standard of living, assumes that laborers themselves fix their own wages regardless of capital; that is to say, the "standard of living" the laborer chooses to adopt can be maintained merely by naming to capital the prices at which it will work. How long would there be a labor question if this were really true? The Ricardian law of wages puts a standard of the laborer's living in the hands of capital, and causes it to vary at the bidding of capital, taking care generally that it furnishes the laborer but a bare subsistence.

We may not be able to say what determines wages. If we were to sell labor, we would get the most possible; if we were to buy it, we would pay the least possible, for the simple reason that while we abhor the system that makes competition necessary, any other course, under individualism, would soon compel us to take up our march "over the hill to the poorhouse." But the inability to discover a law of wages, if, indeed, there be such a law, furnishes no reason for accepting unchallenged the *a priori* theories of those who first set up a hole for social ventilation and then attempt to build around it.

It is certainly comforting, after going up and down the century in the vain search of the law of wages, to hear an eminent political economist declare with a refreshing indefiniteness that wages are "fixed by uncontrollable movements in a universal market."¹

It is a psychological mystery, surpassing that of miracles, how a wise man can coolly lay down the proposition that wages are governed by the "standard of living," which every laborer and employer in the land knows to be the exact reverse of what is true, which contradicts the everyday experiences of men, and even does violence to common sense; and then gravely proceed to build thereon a social scheme which will relieve poverty on the one hand, and on the other prop up the tottering institutions which cause it. So much easier is it, obeying the traditions of capitalism, to say "It is Corban," than to deny mammon and serve God.

We do not object to speculation within its province, but the unpardonable sin of the philosophy of capitalism consists in this, that in attempting to make its peace with God and morality it posits its dogmatic conclusions on purely speculative premises.

On such a basis only, rests the argument that an eight-hour day will solve the labor problem.

¹ "The Modern Distributive Process" (Clark), p. 39.

VI. — *Industrial Schools.*

"As the machines have grown in intelligence, the need of intelligence in the operator has decreased." — *Springfield Republican*.

"The remuneration of labor, as such, skilled or unskilled, can never rise much above its present level." — PROFESSOR J. E. CAIRNES.

At the dedication of the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia Chauncey M. Depew said, "The manual training-school solves the problem of labor and industrial development."¹ In a subsequent chapter we shall call attention to the development and progress of industrial schools in Europe as indicating the Socialistic tendency in education. We need not now, therefore, discuss their merits or demerits. We have only words of praise for the noble-hearted man, Anthony J. Drexel, who has made the sacrifice of a magnanimous peace-offering to the cruel industrial war now raging. Our contention is not against the industrial school, which we heartily approve, but solely with the assumption that it "solves the problem of labor and industrial development." We are unable to indorse this conclusion for the following reasons: —

1. No such extravagant claim is made by the friends of manual training in Europe where industrial schools have been the longest and most extensively established.

2. The industrial school in America serves with many as a righteous protest against the contemptuous attitude of the wealthy classes toward manual labor. Even the boys and girls in our common schools, especially in cities, are ashamed of work. Thousands every year graduate from the schools and are let loose upon society, too ignorant for a profession, too proud to work, and too poor not to.

They seek a clerkship or some sort of polite work so far removed from dust and dirt as not to soil their fine clothes or delicate hands. Others recruit the ever-increasing ranks of youthful criminals. Here we have a problem that vexes parents and menaces society.

The graduates of our high schools are but little better

¹ "Public Opinion," Dec. 26, 1891.

off. They want positions which either they cannot fill or find already filled. Manual labor they dislike; they are educated; and of all pitiable sights is an educated parasite. To remedy this evil, which has already assumed tremendous proportions, to make manual work honorable, and to dignify the laborer rather than to put an end to the strife between labor and capital, is one reason why many favor industrial schools.

3. Another reason for manual training is the disappearance of the apprenticeship system, not only in this country but largely throughout Europe. This system, with all its hardships, had many advantages.

The boy learned his trade and was taken care of till, by his trade, he could take care of himself. What is to become of the average boy of fifteen to-day who leaves school with no trade, whom nobody will take as an apprentice, whom most employers will not have around, and who has no chance to learn a trade? We know several such boys at this moment and tremble for their future. The industrial school is a partial, but only a partial, answer. It will help; it will give the pupils some little practical acquaintance with the use of tools and the rudiments of a trade which will help them to start in some kind of useful occupation.

4. This leads to a more serious consideration. The industrial school must necessarily limit its teaching, for the most part, to the mechanical trades in which machinery is most extensively employed. But improvement and application of machinery render skilled labor less and less necessary. Time was when the brain wrought equally with the hand in production. The machine now largely takes the place of both brain and hands. True, all labor, even shovelling, is labor mixed with brains; but skill and cunning and manual dexterity have been patented. The laborer is more and more a servant of the machine, if not a part of it. In every department of industry the machine is displacing the man. Even shovelling is being done by machinery. What, then, are the youths who graduate from the industrial school to do? Suppose the industrial schools have helped to make a body of skilled

lathers who are all doing well at their trade. Suddenly they find themselves displaced by a boy putting up wire lathing. What are they to do now? Suppose again a large company of carpenters, the product of the industrial school: they are making good wages; all goes smoothly, but very soon matters get worse and complaint is loud. What is the matter? Why, machinery has stepped in and is doing all the work. Frames are sawed and sized at the mill; boards are cut to a width and length, and come planed and jointed and matched doors and windows with their frames; thresholds, stools, casings, jambs, base, rails, posts, balusters, mouldings, all outside finish, corner boards, clapboards, water boards, piazza posts, brackets and rails, cornice, indeed, every piece of wood required in the construction of the house, comes gotten out by machinery, tended oftentimes by mere boys, and which a novice at carpentering can put up. What now are the carpenters thus displaced by machinery going to do? So we might go on through the whole list of mechanical trades. Will the industrial school solve this problem? Rather, will it not add to the difficulty by tending to increase the supply of skilled labor beyond the demand?

5. There is another force that the industrial school must reckon with; viz., *competition*. Suppose manual training to be general and all youths alike better equipped as they enter the field of industry, would not competition be fiercer than ever? Besides, it is a fair question whether competition among laborers for work and higher wages does not stimulate the laborer's activity, sharpen his wits, and so conduce to his efficiency to a degree so much greater than could result from any training he could receive in the school as to make the latter insignificant. So long as *competition* is allowed to exist it will be king.

6. The fact that the experiment of industrial training in the schools has been tried and proved a failure is worthy of notice.

After a trial of three years in the Netherlands industrial training was pronounced a failure. None of the advocates of industrial schools have offered to show *how* these

would solve the labor question. Have they forgotten that skilled laborers, whose ranks these schools would augment, are in the front of the battle with capital?

Were this otherwise, it is not easy to see how schools for training the eye and hand can bring industrial peace, when inventions, machinery, and division of labor are daily rendering skilled eyes and hands unnecessary. Nevertheless, let this kind of training go on. It will bring temporary relief to some; it is a step in the right direction. It is a tacit recognition of the logic of events. It shows that the thoughtful perceive the slough into which labor has fallen, and, realizing the dangers, are determined that something must be done. No reasonable man will expect the right thing or the adequate thing to be done till other inadequate measures have had their day and failed. It would contradict all experience. A poultice is generally useful as preparatory for the lance.

VII. — *Thrift, Intelligence, and Manliness.*

"Thrift is an excellent thing, but to render it possible for the laborer there must be a more equitable distribution of produce." — LAVELEYE.

Another panacea for social ills is thrift, under which term may be included the virtues of "manliness," "intelligence," "temperance," "frugality," "efficiency," etc. Let the wage-worker practise these virtues, we are told, and the lowering industrial clouds will scatter and the lion of capital and the lamb of labor will die down together.

Dr. Behrends declares the conditions of the laborer's salvation to be "intelligent industry and thrift," "personal manhood," "intelligence and skill."¹ Professor Francis A. Walker says the "increasing intelligence, sobriety, and frugality on the part of the wages-class, securing them a prompt, easy, and sure resort to the best market, is the most hopeful path of progress for the immediate future."² We yield to none in our appreciation of the personal qualities recommended to the laborer by these and other advo-

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," pp. 116, 124, 131.

² "The Wages Question," p. 280.

cates of capitalism. The question, however, before us is, can the wages-class, by cultivating thrift, manhood, intelligence, frugality, and skill, singly, or all combined, solve the labor problem under the capitalistic *régime*? We answer emphatically no, and for the following reasons:—

1. To prescribe old and hackneyed remedies, under the operation of which the social body has steadily grown worse, is not only futile but aggravating.

2. Just in proportion as laborers have developed these qualities, manhood, thrift, etc., they have become discontented with the present industrial *régime*. Every one knows that the thriftiest and most skilful period of labor in the world's history is exactly contemporaneous with the period wherein the laborer's sense of injustice is the keenest. Intelligence on the part of laborers is the implacable enemy of the capitalistic system. Deprive them of it, crush their manhood, and take away their thrift, and you give the system a new and permanent lease of life. What is it but *manhood* that is standing at the gates of capitalism and calling upon it to surrender in the name of justice and Jehovah? How its defenders can consistently furnish arms and ammunition to wage-workers, by equipping them with intelligence, manhood, and thrift, is inconceivable. These are the very marks of the progress of society, the very conditions in the industrial evolution that render the old economy impossible and the new possible.

3. Capital will reap the principal benefit of the increased efficiency of labor. All economists agree that employers make the most profits from the most skilful hands. In dull times the least skilful are first discharged. "Employers," says Professor Walker, "usually take on their lowest-paid laborers last," and he quotes Mr. Chadwick as saying, "Masters 'prefer those laborers who earn the most wages.'" ¹ No one disputes this. Dr. Behrends says the workman paid the highest wages on account of his efficiency was "the most profitable employee. The higher wages proved to be more economical to the owners." ²

¹ "The Wages Question," pp. 40, 41.

² "Socialism and Christianity," pp. 118, 119.

Will these gentlemen who first exhort the laborer to increased efficiency, and in the next breath assure us that this efficiency is what most adds to the employer's profits, *the sole cause of trouble now*, tell us how this tends to equalize distribution and secure peace? The argument stands thus: the employer says to the employee, "Increase your manhood or efficiency to get higher wages; then I can make more profit out of you, and so we will have peace." It is as if the cannibal should piously advise his intended victim to eat heartily and fatten himself, so that he might improve his condition, which would the sooner put an end to strife. If, then, the laborer's efficiency increases the employer's profits, it would only intensify existing bitterness. It is no answer to say that efficiency increases wages also. Wages *have* increased, and war also at an equal pace. It is not an increase of wages, but a larger share of the product, even though it were *less* wages, that alone will give peace.

4. Intelligence, skill, and thrift on the part of laborers not only increase the employer's profits, and thus aggravate the situation, but these are the immediate disturbing factors in society. Skilled, not common laborers, are attacking the existing order. "As a matter of indisputable fact, strikes have not proceeded from the least but from the most fortunate portion of the working population. It has not been common, but skilled labor that has been concerned. It has not been hopeless misery, but growing ambition, which has prompted nearly all the demands which it has been sought to enforce by the last resort."¹ It is thus seen to be the skilled, intelligent workmen who are foremost in their opposition to the assumptions of capitalism. Indeed this admits of no doubt. It is the uniform testimony of writers upon this subject. How, then, is harmony to be restored by increasing skill and intelligence — the cause of the discord?

The truth is, "manliness," the crown of these virtues, demands industrial justice, and this, under the present *régime*, it cannot have.

¹ Professor F. A. Walker, as quoted by William F. Willoughby: Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. v. No. 2, p. 43.

5. Again admitting that in the competitive struggle the more thrifty and intelligent will succeed, how does it appear that intelligence, thrift, and skill can improve the *general relative condition of wage-workers*? It must be evident to all who have given the least thought to the labor question that no measure for the solution of the problem that leaves the great mass of laborers still subject to the injustice of the present system has the least chance of success. What is required is a greater degree of economic equality.

Those who rely on the remedies under discussion do not pretend that they would or could enable all wage-workers to secure a larger relative share of products. The most that could be expected from such conditions would be that a few laborers, by superior efficiency, would secure an advantage.

6. Again, let us suppose that, by a general advance in the virtues under consideration, the common level of all laborers was raised; would this, under the present system, satisfy justice? By no means. The gulf between the rich and poor would be widened. The laborer might receive absolutely more, but, as we have seen, the more thrifty and industrious the laborer the larger the relative share of the product which capital receives. It is not the *absolute* but the *relative* condition of classes that causes disturbance.

The new idea of right, the new conception of social justice, demands that the present unrighteous inequality shall cease. All talk, therefore, about advancing wage-workers and restoring peace by the laborer's manhood, thrift, and intelligence under capitalism, is the veriest nonsense. One might as well argue that the more industrious the bees in filling their hive with honey during the summer, the more they will have to enjoy during the winter. The busy bees in the hives of human industry have discovered that the more industrious they are, the more honey they are making for the masters of the hive.

7. The virtues of thrift, intelligence, and manliness in no way help to equalize the burdens and benefits of society; but, on the contrary, their exercise, under competition, is accompanied with influences at once unjust and brutalizing.

By their means one man is enabled to get ahead and on the top of his weaker brother. Men are not equally endowed with the power to acquire these virtues, nor have they an equal opportunity to cultivate them. Under individualism, therefore, their exercise tends to blunt the sense of brotherhood and contributes to social inequality. The man who is provident and thrifty will get on, and the man who is the reverse, we are told, has nobody to blame but himself if he does not get on. This sort of talk is simply cruel; but society is continually indulging in it till people who are not born smart actually feel guilty. Who made you smart and me dull, that you should eat the fat of the land and be clothed in fine linen, while I am hungry and naked? We are told that this inequality is the decree of God and it is useless to fight against it. It is rather the decree of Satan, upheld and enforced by the artificial and false assumptions of the current political economy, expressed by the terms *capitalism* and *individualism*. Socialism demands the recognition of *fraternity*; it demands that in the household of society the children, though unequally endowed with physical and moral qualities, shall be clothed and fed and kindly and impartially treated. If this is *paternalism*, it is also the *fraternalism* of the Christianity of Christ and the New Testament.

8. The inadequacy of these personal virtues to bring the needed relief is apparent when we attempt to apply them to any particular industry. The Elgin (Illinois) watch works, for example, employ about thirty-five hundred hands. The business was established about twenty-seven years ago, and many of the workmen have been with it from the start. By the improvement of machinery the work of making a watch has been divided into eight hundred distinct operations, and the pay has been gradually reduced from fifteen to sixty per cent. The skill of the average workman is now sharpened down to the performance of but one of these eight hundred operations.

Dexterity in doing one little thing day after day and year after year is all that is required. Workmen of twenty years' standing are displaced by a machine tended by a girl at sixty cents a day.

A workman says, 'Twenty-five years ago I went to work here at four dollars a day ; . . . reduction followed reduction, and to-day, after twenty-five years of hard, conscientious work, I would be glad to accept two dollars and seventy-five cents per day. This last cut has reduced me another fifty cents, and I am going to strike. The workman in the modern watch factory is the most dependent wage-slave in the world. He has no trade. He may work in a watch factory fifty years and know no more about a watch when he quits than on the first day he entered the shops. He does the same thing day after day, week after week, and year after year. Cut him loose from the factory, after having devoted the best part of his life to such work, and he is almost helpless. The company has taken advantage of this fact in the reduction of wages, and our only hope lies in concerted action — a strike !'¹

Now comes the advocate of the panacea of the personal virtues, and says, "Wait, my complaining friend, I have a remedy for your personal ills that you have overlooked: cultivate skill, intelligence, thrift, manliness, and all will be well." Could any utterance be conceived more exasperating to the man who, for a quarter of a century, had bravely struggled against the iron laws of capitalism? Of all remedies proposed to heal the gaping wounds of society the exhortation to manliness and thrift is the most insipid and jejune. The watch-works laborers are representatives of a large class of wage-workers throughout the country. The *Springfield Republican*, after commenting on the watch-trust war, says, "This is a fair sample chapter of the industrial progress of the time."² We may as well face the fact, daily emphasized, that wage-workers cannot compete with corporations and machines of iron and steel, with mammoth wheels and engines that roll and roar like devouring monsters crushing all that oppose them. Laborers must come into different relations to these industrial forces before harmony can be restored. To prescribe such palliatives as thrift and manhood for the disease that threatens society, is as futile as would be the bathing of a gangrened limb that threatened the vitals, with rose-water.

¹ "Springfield Republican," January, 1892.

² *Ibid.*

VIII. — *The Christianization of Capitalism.*

“What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness?” — 2 Cor. vi. 14.

Many wise and good men recognize the evils that threaten society, but shrink from other than the ordinary remedial measures. They admit that the exigency is extraordinary, but decline to employ extraordinary means for relief. Conservatism opposes error and truth alike. It restrains fanaticism and blocks reform. The conservative never abandons himself to a great truth; he is prudential if anything; he walks by sight, not by faith. He has no sympathy with a Galileo for declaring that the earth moves, without being able to explain all the phenomena of its motion; or with Columbus setting out, under the inspiration of a mighty truth, for a new world, without knowing precisely where he was going to land. This is the attitude of the conservative mind toward the new order of society. It deprecates the evils of individualism; it sees the glorious truth of Socialism, but dares not embark upon it because the landing-place is uncertain. We are willing rather, with the Magi of the East, to follow the Star of Truth, even though we know not the way in which it will lead us. While many religious teachers are leaning towards Socialism as the only way of escape from social perils, there are some who think it possible to avert danger and work needed reform by imbuing capitalism with Christian principles. Dr. Washington Gladden, one of the foremost of American sociological and Christian writers, says, “The reform needed is not the destruction, but the Christianization of the present order.”¹ Dr. Gladden is so fair in the discussion of social problems, he has so much sympathy for the oppressed, and feels so keenly the wrongs of which Socialists complain, that his opinion should have great weight with them. If “the present order” *could* be Christianized, it ought by all means to be done. Dr. Gladden entertains the expectation that individuals, moved by the spirit of Christianity, will

¹ “Applied Christianity,” p. 98.

voluntarily surrender the means and practice of exploitation. "The principal remedy for the evils of which Socialists complain is to be found, therefore, in the application by individuals of Christian principles and methods to the solution of the social problem."¹ We cannot share his expectation. He looks to the union of labor and capital on some kind and Christian basis. He commends profit-sharing and other forms of co-operation, and believes that egotism and altruism can be united under capitalism. "It must be the business of the employer to promote the welfare of his workmen, and the business of the workmen to promote the interest of their employer."²

But this is the doctrine of *each for all and all for each*, which is Socialism. He believes in co-operation; but *integral co-operation* is Socialism. He believes in "the application of Christian principles and methods to the solution of the social problem;" but this again is Socialism. All the evils belong to individualism, while all his remedies are Socialistic. It seems to us therefore that the only thing to do is to socialize industry. We do not believe it possible to Christianize "the existing order." The expression seems to us to involve a contradiction. The principles of "the existing order" are wrong and must be given up. You cannot Christianize theft; it must be abandoned. When a man is Christianized, his principles are *changed*, "Old things pass away, and all things become new." The man himself becomes a new creature. But this is not what Dr. Gladden means by "the Christianization of the existing order." He does not want its principles changed; he does not want the old things, viz., private capital, freedom of contract, and free competition, and the wage-system, to pass away and all things to become new, including the "order" itself; this, rather, is what Socialism wants, and it is also what Christianity demands. Socialism and Christianity are allies. Individualism, or the present order, and Christianity are enemies. The present order, like the natural heart, is enmity against God.

Neither of the principles of the existing order of capital-

¹ "Applied Christianity," p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

ism admits of Christianization. These principles are the fundamental assumptions of the current political economy. They are the absoluteness of private capital, free competition, and free contract. Let us glance at their ethical character.

1. The absoluteness of private capital is inconsistent with Christianity, and must be abandoned.

Private capital gives the owner a privilege or advantage over another man. This is contrary to the spirit of the gospel. Private capital, especially by means of the wage-system, enables the owner to exploit his neighbor. This, the most selfish, unchristian, and devilish thing that can be conceived of, is the essence of the existing order. What power of darkness is it that blinds our eyes to the truth that *no man or set of men has a right to thrive at the expense of others?* The capitalist may sit in his easy-chair and take half of all his neighbor can produce, and no more dream of doing wrong than did the saints of Salem in hanging witches, or the slave-holders in keeping slaves, or the inquisitors of the Holy Office in imprisoning and burning alive 341,021 Spaniards.

You cannot Christianize exploitation, for it violates the Golden Rule which, as has been well said, must be the rule for gold.

If private capital is Christian, certainly no limit is set to its acquisition. One man may rightfully own all the land and other means of production in the community. His fellow-men therefore are practically his slaves; they have no right to live except by his sufferance. "The ownership of land," says a stanch defender of individualism, "carries with it the ownership of all that the land produces and of all who live upon it."¹ These conclusions are antagonized by Christianity. No man has a right to lord it over his fellows or to enter into temptation to so lord it. One man owns $\frac{1}{10}$ part of the land of England and Wales; 24 men own $\frac{1}{4}$ of all Scotland.

Can you Christianize an institution which, *in principle*, allows one man to say to his fellow-men, "Leave the

*: "Socialism and Christianity," p. 87.

country or the world, for it is mine"? Is it any wonder that ministers of the gospel are beginning to denounce this principle?

The monopoly of land at present is no different in principle, or more unjust in its results, than the monopoly of the other means of production, or of the necessities of life. The tap-root of all private monopoly is private capital, which, as we have seen in Chapter III., is contrary to Christianity.

2. The second principle in "the existing order" is freedom of contract. A denial of this doctrine will be regarded as a species of sociological heresy and economic infidelity worthy of the swiftest condemnation. The question now, however, is not primarily one of sociology or economics, but of Christian ethics. Is freedom of contract in harmony with Christianity? If not, can it be Christianized?

To each of these questions we answer no. "A contract in legal contemplation is an agreement between two or more parties for the doing or not doing of some particular thing."¹ Freedom of contract means the unrestrained liberty to make such agreements. A moment's reflection will convince any one that this is not consistent with Christianity. One of the parties to a suit at law contracts with the judge for a given decision. Freedom of contract, of course, allows this. But Christianity says, "Fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery."² Can bribery be Christianized? Two men agree that if the one will kill a certain man the other shall pay him a stipulated sum. *Freedom* of contract allows this. But Christianity says, "Thou shalt not kill." If freedom of contract can be Christianized, then murder can be Christianized. But it is replied this is absurd!

Certainly it is. In other words, by freedom of contract we do not mean *freedom* at all. Freedom of contract, however, is a convenient phrase; it hides a multitude of social sins. The contracts above supposed are, and ought to be, prohibited by law. If *prohibited*, they are not *free*. All would agree that some restraint should be put upon freedom of contract. To what extent should this restraint go?

¹ "Parsons on Contract," Vol. i. p. 6.

² Job xv. 34.

The answer and the only rational answer is, it should go so far as to meet the demands of *social justice*. This is precisely the demands of Socialism. Let us now grant that by freedom of contract *absolute freedom* is not intended, but freedom to buy and sell in accordance with civil law and the principles of the existing order.

Is freedom of contract thus qualified Christian? If not, can it be Christianized? The answer must be in the negative. In the summer of 1891 a man bought up 14,000,000 bushels of corn and withheld it till the price advanced 20 per cent to the disadvantage and distress of thousands. Christianity says, "He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him."¹ Can this corn transaction, which is representative under freedom of contract, be Christianized? Fresh in memory is a Chicago wheat corner which so "squeezed" an old and honorable firm in New York that the senior member found relief in suicide. A secular journal that upholds "the present order," characterizes this corn-dealer and this wheat-squeezer, whose only offence and complete defence is that each is doing a *lawful business* under freedom of contract, as "a thief and a robber."²

Strong language this for the eye of capitalism to use towards its hand; for there ought to be no schism between the members of the capitalistic body. But nothing is more common than for the friends of the existing order to exalt freedom of contract, or some other capitalistic principle, and then roundly condemn the man who employs it most logically and most successfully. Witness the kind of epithets applied to J. Gould, Vanderbilt, and indeed nearly all men who, by extraordinary ability, have secured a fortune, in perfect accordance with the laws of the land, of society, and of the "existing order." We do not say, however, in accordance with Christianity. Speculation is everywhere; it pervades society like an atmosphere. Your grocer engages in it; so does everybody. The gambling spirit is not confined to the Stock Exchange. Getting something and all one can for nothing is the universal

¹ Prov. xi. 26.

² "Springfield Daily Union," Sept. 7, 1888.

practice. The head of a large manufacturing plant recently told the writer that the law of business was "to claim the whole world and concede only as you must." We do not approve the business of cornering commodities, even on the small scale which every small dealer is practising. What we insist on is, that the advocate of the existing order, of which cornering is a most perfect, natural, and consummate flower, cannot consistently condemn it. A tree, however, is known by its fruit. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit;" and Socialism, in the language of its Great Head, says, not that the tree shall be Christianized, but "hewn down and cast into the fire." But this is not the worst count in the bill of indictment Christianity brings against freedom of contract. By the exercise of this principle, capital combines and secures control, not only of necessary commodities, but of work itself by which the poor man can alone sustain life. He stands before a great corporation to sell his labor, and has no more to say about the price than an infant. It may be his only chance for work at any price; he may have a helpless family behind him and starvation before him; he is forced to take the wages offered, however low; and this also is called freedom of contract. The phrase is elastic. We exclude bribery, a case of real freedom, and include the hiring of the laborer by the corporation, a case of the entire absence of freedom. But this elasticity of freedom of contract is its most valuable quality; it solves the capitalistic problem how to serve God and mammon at the same time. About 600 railroad companies in the United States employ 800,000 men. The employees of some of these companies, numbering thousands, are dependent upon the nod of one man for their daily bread. "The mutuality of dependence between a great railroad corporation and any single one of its hundreds of machinists, engineers, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, trackmen, or other employees, is absolutely inappreciable. The dependence is altogether one-sided."

Freedom of contract is a misnomer when one party arbitrarily fixes the terms of contract and the other is compelled to accept.

A most unjust and socially harmful exercise of this principle is the formation of trusts to control production and raise prices. A trust is only a perpetual corner. The coal trust meets and decides to reduce the output of coal, and price is advanced twenty-five cents per ton. What has the consumer to say anyway about the price he shall pay for coal? The Standard Oil Trust agrees to give the Producers' Association 5,000,000 barrels of oil, if the latter would reduce the production of crude oil 17,500 barrels per day, and is justified under the sacred principle of freedom of contract. We deny the moral right of a few thus to enrich themselves at the expense of the many, and we are unable to see how these transactions can be Christianized.

Christianity says, "And if thou sell aught unto thy neighbor, or buyest aught of thy neighbor's hand, ye shall not oppress one another."¹

Freedom of contract allows the strong and the cunning to impose upon the weak and the innocent. This it has done and is doing till unspeakable mischief and misery have been inflicted upon society.

3. Competition, the third principle of the existing order, is not only relatively but absolutely anti-Christian. The formula for competition is, *man against man*. Christianity says *man for man*, "ye are members one of another." Competition is war; Christianity is peace.

We can no more mix Christianity and competition than we can mix oil and water. But we need not dwell upon this point, for it is admitted. Dr. Gladden declares competition to be war: "A war in which the strongest will win. . . The wage-system, when it rests on competition as its sole basis, is anti-social and anti-Christian."² This is our position precisely.

Competition, the third principle in capitalism, is *anti-Christian*. What is essentially anti-Christian cannot be Christianized; it must be abolished.

Socialism would remove the evil effects of these principles by removing the cause. It would sweeten the stream at which society is drinking by purifying the fountain,

¹ Lev. xxv. 14.

² "Applied Christianity," p. 33.

rather than by spasmodic and inadequate attempts to filter the water along the current.

These evils are not merely incidental to a system which can be Christianized by preventing them; they inhere in the system itself. The existing order is a necessary link in the chain of industrial development. Individualism was as necessary for Socialism as slavery was for feudalism, or feudalism for capitalism. Each of these systems was regarded as the divinely ordained and final order. As they outgrew their usefulness and the evils connected with them became threatening and unendurable, conservative and good men sought to perpetuate by Christianizing them as they now do the existing order. Slavery was a divine order, and men sought to Christianize it, but in vain. Polygamy was a divine institution, and when society outgrew it, Christianization was attempted only to end in failure.

The liquor traffic seeks to be Christianized. A saloon in Salt Lake bore the inscription, "Holiness to the Lord;" but Christianity refuses to baptize the liquor traffic. Every form of human selfishness seeks to be Christianized. Hardly any great error or institution which becomes a menace to society dies without seeking, and too often temporarily finding, shelter under the protecting ægis of Christianity.

CHAPTER VI .

ADVANTAGES OF THE SOCIALISTIC STATE

"With fervency I spoke of that new world blessed with plenty, purified by justice, and sweetened by brotherly kindness, the world of which I had indeed but dreamed, but which might so easily be made real."—EDWARD BELLAMY.

SOCIALISM aims primarily at industrial reformation, but it affects all social interests, as they are vitally connected with industry.

For an interesting *résumé* of the advantages of the "Co-operative Commonwealth," we might refer to "Looking Backward," a book which, under the guise of a simple but charming romance, vividly portrays the harmonious and wholesome working of social and industrial institutions under the Socialistic state.

If it be said this is utopian, let us bear in mind that the particular details of the working of the great principles of Socialism are of little consequence. "Looking Backward" has not stirred the hearts of the nations on account of its non-essential details, but rather on account of its mighty truths set over against terrible wrongs in such a way as to amount to a new discovery. If these truths are utopian, the New Testament is utopian. Their application, which is wholly gratuitous, but which superficial people regard as paramount to the principles themselves, must be experimental and vary with circumstances.

The character of this treatise, however, calls for facts, for things that are practicable and probable. We proceed, therefore, to specify some of the actual advantages of the Socialistic state.

I. — *Mammon dethroned.*

“Money should not breed.” — ARISTOTLE.

Money is the medium of exchange and the *proximate* measure of value. As we have already shown, labor-time is the *primary* measure of all value; it requires a certain amount of social labor-time to mine and mint a gold or silver dollar. These metals are more durable, divisible, portable, and unchangeable than other commodities, hence they are made to serve as money. Under Socialism, however, the exchange of commodities would disappear; no medium, therefore, would be necessary. Money would be abolished. This, of course, implies a complete nationalization of all industry.

It is possible, however, that the object sought by Socialism might be realized and still leave certain minor affairs of business in private hands. Money, therefore, might play some part under Socialism. The abolition of private capital, freedom of contract and competition, would certainly destroy mammonism, which is the idolatry of money. Money is to the capitalistic system what the blood is to the body. It is the vitalizing, energizing power that makes it what it is. It is the seat of life, or the life itself. Like the blood, money circulates; with this difference, however: the blood distributes what is nutritious throughout the system, but gathers up and casts out all impurities and insists on keeping itself pure; but money, while it distributes the necessities of life through the body economic, creates impurities, retains all corruptions, and thus poisons the entire social body. The disease from which capitalist society is now suffering is money-poisoning, and it is fatal.

The definition of money, which is everywhere accepted, as a medium of exchange, shows that it cannot be *legitimately* hoarded or used to accumulate private wealth. To hoard it, or to employ it for breeding purposes, that is, for self-increase, is to pervert its object. Aristotle said that “money should not breed.” Interest is as legitimate in capitalism as bayonets in war.

Interest, however, "is not based on nature, but on mutual cheatings, therefore the usurer is most rightly hated, because money itself is the source of his gain, and is not used for the purposes for which it was invented. For it originated for the exchange of commodities, but interest makes out of money, more money. Hence its name (*τόκος*, interest and offspring). For the begotten are like those who beget them. But interest is money of money, so that of all modes of making a living this is the most contrary to nature."¹

The occasion for interest is credit. Commercial credit is in itself one of the most terrible scourges that ever visited the human race. To this can be traced a large per cent of the crimes that afflict society. It is, however, necessary to the capitalistic system. Interest is the means by which capitalists exploit each other. It is the most specious, subtle, and deceitful kind of blood money. It can, like Milton's fiend in his flight towards this world to corrupt the race, transform itself into a cherub with celestial smile, flowing hair, golden wings, and a silver wand, and deceive the archangels themselves. Idleness, luxury, pride, vanity, and vice take refuge under its wings. It was prohibited by ancient law and is forbidden by the gospel.

Mediæval and modern states have prohibited it or set bounds to it, but without success. Perhaps nothing so shows the vicious nature of interest as the fact that the more needy the borrower, the higher the rate of interest he is obliged to pay. A poor man often pays fifteen per cent, while the rich only three or four per cent. This, however, is considered right; a matter of course, under capitalism.

There is not a precept or truth in the whole realm of nature or revelation that is not obscured and corrupted by gold.

"Gold, yellow, glittering, precious gold! . . .

Thus much of this will make black, white; foul, fair;
Wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant;
This yellow slave

¹ As quoted in "Capital" (Marx), p. 143.

Will knit and break religions, bless the accursed,
Make the hoar leprosy adored, place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation
With senators on the bench."

SHAKESPEARE: "*Timon of Athens*."

We are horrified to read that the Moors, in seeking to obtain gold from the Jews banished from Spain, "ripped open their bellies in order to search for the gold which they were supposed to have concealed in their bowels."¹ We do not blame them for wanting the gold; it was their atrociously direct and straightforward methods that offend us. The refined but more cruel methods which capitalism employs in extracting gold from its victims awaken no interest, much less any criticism.

Rather than spend my life under the shadow of want, depriving myself of nutritious food and sufficient clothing, impoverishing my blood and engendering disease, not daring for want of means to call a physician, continually haunted by the spectre of hunger and cold, fearful lest finally my strength utterly fail and I become a public charge, — I say rather than live and endure this slow torture till God in mercy should relieve me, I would welcome the Moor. Yet this is what capitalism is doing to thousands and tens of thousands in every large city in the world by the established and most approved methods of mammonism.

The influence of the money-getting passion upon society is beyond calculation. It is a standing menace to individual character, to the home, the church, the state. It is an ill-omened eagle that preys without ceasing upon the vitals of society. More than all other things together it is the cause of "man's inhumanity to man." It is the one passion that successfully withstands the combined forces of religion and morality. The present economic constitution of society, however, forces men to employ this passion to the utmost.

Life to-day is a great grab-bag scheme. It is every one's duty to grab, and they are the most worthy who can manage to grab oftenest and can get the most; and these success-

¹ Tytler's *History*, Book VI., chap. xiv., p. 219.

ful ones say, under their breath, of the poor fellow who gets nothing, "It were good for that man if he had never been born."

If the "Love of money is a root of all evil," the evil would disappear if this root were torn up. This is the first thing that the Socialistic state would do. *It would take away the desire of riches by making them impossible.* Is it asked how could we get along without money? We answer there will be no need of money when every want is supplied and every legitimate taste gratified by the great co-operative stores of the State in return for services rendered. A record of industrial services would be kept and credit given. Tickets or certificates of labor could readily take the place of money. For settling balances with foreign nations the precious metals might easily be used. The abolition of money will strike some as an absurd idea, but the evils connected with it are becoming so serious as to challenge the attention of thoughtful men.

Professor R. T. Ely says, money is "merely small change in great industrial centres, and it is conceivable that circumstances may exist under which it would be the best thing for us to have money leave the country."¹ Nothing is more common than to hear people opposing Socialism by such twaddle as the following: "The accounts could not be kept;" "The enormous bookkeeping would break down;" "Nobody could get what he wanted;" "We should all be slaves;" "What would become of the delicate and feeble?" "We should all have to dress alike," and so on *ad infinitum et ad nauseam*. All this proceeds from a profound ignorance of Socialism, and, what is worse, from a deep distrust of the great principles of justice and religion on which it rests. Abolish not *private property*, but *private capital*, and Mammon would fall on his face before the ark of the Lord with his head and the palms of his hands cut off and only the stump of Mammon would be left.² Abolish private capital, and we give a death-blow to that pride and vanity which now set men against their fellow-men and against their Creator. Abolish private capital, and you

¹ "Political Economy," p. 273.

² 1 Sam. v.

destroy industrial tyranny. God and history, ethics and humanity, call just as loudly for industrial as for political democracy. No tyranny was ever more intolerable than the tyranny of private wealth. It causes envying and strife, jealousy and hatred, however disguised, which stir whatever is meanest and most venomous in the human breast. If men cannot serve both God and mammon, it would seem the part of wisdom for society to get rid of mammon. That would indeed be a rainbow of promise for human society, which should substitute for an aristocracy of wealth an aristocracy of character; for the love of money, the love of man.

II. — *Labor the Fortune of All.*

"An idle brain is the devil's workshop." — ENGLISH PROVERB.

"The Nineteenth Century says to the Twentieth, 'All men must labor.'" — PRESIDENT MERRILL E. GATES.

This is the unmistakable voice of the people, and we believe that "*vox populi vox Dei.*"

The fundamental economic principle which underlies socialism is that every one should work. This is the teaching of Christianity: "If any will not work, neither shall he eat."¹ All would by no means be manual laborers; physicians, teachers, artists, writers, would be even more in demand than at present, and every one would be enabled to choose the calling for which he was adapted. Idleness would become disgraceful and criminal. Daily bread and daily labor, which God and nature have joined together, but which private capital has put asunder, would be reunited. When *all* are laborers, labor will be honorable. The State would be the only capitalist and employer, and all the products of labor, including what are now profits, would be equitably distributed among all the people. Labor, compulsory, universal, honorable, would prove an untold blessing to society.

Especially is this true of that large class, the families and *protégés* of private wealth, who live on the labor of

¹ 2 Thess. iii. 10.

others, unconscious of the essential selfishness of such a course, and whose manner of life is so different from those by the sweat of whose brow they are clothed and fed, that they have as little in common with them as though they belonged to another race of beings. To this entire class, which in our own country at least is rapidly increasing, it would be a "blessing big with mercy" if, instead of the aimlessness, the vanity, the *ennui*, of a life forced upon them by a system of which they are the innocent though unconscious victims, a useful and ennobling occupation should engage their attention; useful, because helpful to others; ennobling, because it gives one the consciousness of worth, a sense of true dignity arising from the desire to make the world better off because one is living in it.

Republican Rome can teach the nineteenth century a useful lesson. A boy walked beside the Roman woman on her wedding-march bearing a basket containing a hank of wool, spindle, and distaff. Spinning was the jewel in the crown of the Roman matron of the republic.

It is objected that the State would not be able to compel the indolent, the shiftless, and the obstinate to labor. Mr. Cook says of "Looking Backward," "It encourages Socialism and Communism by stimulating the hopes of the shiftless and the vicious."¹

It is sufficient to reply that such people could not exist under Socialism. It would be so hot for them that they would "say to the mountains, fall on us; and to the hills, cover us." When society is so constituted that bread depends upon work, which is always to be had and waiting, men will work. Hunger is a strong motive. There may be some who would rather die than work, and it is certain that neither nature nor revelation has made any provision for the mundane existence of such people.

Other powerful incentives to work would exist in the Socialistic state. The well-being and glory of the State would be at stake.

The weak, the sick, the aged, would have to be provided

¹ "The Congregationalist," Feb. 2, 1890.

for, but patriotism and philanthropy are among the strongest motives to human effort. When the only or principal way to express these motives is by labor, few would venture to object to it. Not to work would be to insult the flag and to proclaim one's self a hater of his neighbor.

But if the authority of the State should be needed to compel work, it does not appear why such authority could not be as effectively exercised as it now is in collecting taxes, or in securing the faithful services of its soldiers. It is a rare occurrence when a citizen escapes taxation or an able-bodied soldier refuses to "fall in."

III.—*Laborers no longer exploited by Means of Money-wages.*

"The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor." — ADAM SMITH.

We have seen that money is a medium of exchange, a substitute for commodities. This enables the employer to pay the laborer in money instead of in the commodities which he produces. This latter method is called payment in kind: the laborer receives a number of bushels or yards which are a part of the entire product. He knows how much he receives and how much the employer receives. On the other hand, when paid in money, he is utterly in the dark as to the employer's share. Under modern methods of production, and especially in consequence of the minute subdivisions of labor, whereby many laborers produce commodities for which they themselves have no need, money-wages almost everywhere prevail. The exploitation of the laborer proceeds from the fact that labor is treated as a commodity and has two values — value in use, and value in exchange. The exchange value of labor is what it sells for, which is the wage received. The use value is what it really earns — what the employer receives for it. In the process of production the raw material itself does not increase in value. It has assumed a new form, but labor has given the form. It is the labor, therefore, that is worth more than has been paid for it. The wool wrought into a

given quantity of cloth is worth no more *as wool* than before it was made into cloth.

The manufacturer, therefore, makes nothing on the raw material, but only on the labor which he buys and sells. Now, to make money out of the flesh and blood of a brother man is simply shocking. It would not be one whit worse to open his veins and draw out a portion of his blood. The values in all just exchanges must be equivalent.

If the laborer *does not receive all he earns, he is robbed*. Luther was a Socialist when he said, "Whoever takes more or better than he gives, that is usury, and is not service, but wrong done to his neighbor, as when one steals and robs." No logic, no sophistry, no custom, no plea of necessity, no power on earth or in heaven, can make it right for *one man to thrive at the expense of another*. The laborer is compelled to take the exchange value for his labor. He would gladly get the use value, but he cannot, because all the means of production are in the hands of capitalists. So long as he is paid in money wages this exploitation will, nay, must, go on.

Socialism would abolish money-wages. Laborers would receive from the State in whose employ they were all needed goods; and, what is of the last importance, they would receive all the produce of their labor consistent with social justice.

IV. — *Justice in Taxation.*

"Taxation involves the disclosure of every man's private affairs, and thrusts official hands into private pockets."—PROFESSOR WILLIAM W. FOLWELL.

It is doubtful whether any institution connected with the existing order of capitalism is open to more serious criticism than its system of taxation. Taxation is based on the principle that each citizen should contribute to the maintenance of the State in proportion to his property. The amount of this property, however, unless it be real, the assessors have no means of ascertaining, and the

average tax-payer is not disposed to make a full and fair statement. The law, indeed, in certain States, allows a man to withhold information from the assessors, but only at the peril of having no redress unless he can show that he has been assessed too much by at least one-half.

The result is a sharp inquisition on the part of the assessors, and a hesitating, prevaricating, and lying course on the part of the tax-payer; and when the work is completed, and taxes are paid, every one knows that the grossest inequality and unfairness have taken place. The magnitude of this evil is co-extensive with the system of taxation. Its effect upon public and private morality is disastrous.

An article in one of our ablest journals on "The Moral Basis of Tax-paying" significantly asks, "How many of us would find it quite easy to explain to a Sunday-school class, for instance, just what and why he personally does, or does not do, as to paying taxes?" The boys in our schools, however, are not ignorant in this matter.

So seared is the public conscience as to the payment of taxes, that the boys look forward to getting the best of the tax-collector as the privilege, if not the duty, of a free man. It occasions little surprise to be told that the man who gave millions to found a boys' industrial school "held securities taxable by the State amounting to \$3,750,000, and yet paid taxes on only \$67,500." The difference between these sums is \$3,682,500. It thus appears that this gentleman owned and was protected in the enjoyment of \$3,682,500, on which he paid not one penny by way of taxes. The enormous injustice of this is seen, if we consider that this is equivalent to 3,682 men, each owning property to the amount of \$1,000 and evading all taxation whatever. People once accustomed to inhale noisome fumes soon become oblivious to the malodor. If the disgraceful and dishonest evasion of the payment of taxes is not a stench in the nostrils of society, it is because society has become so accustomed to breathe the foul atmosphere as to be no longer sensitive to it. It is estimated that the value of the personal property in Boston is four times that of

the real estate, while it is assessed for only one-fourth as much.

The mystery of iniquity involved in this system is inseparably connected with the present capitalistic *régime*. The average tax-payer is afflicted with moral paralysis that is traditional and even respectable. Who ever heard of a man losing caste in society or church because he had succeeded in cheating the government out of half his taxes? It would be an immense gain to the cause of morals and religion if the whole demoralizing system of taxation could be swept out of existence; and this the Socialistic state would do.

If the State is sole capitalist and employer, it would simply retain such part of its product as would be necessary to defray the expenses of government. Individuals would have no taxes to pay, and hence none to evade. The vast army of tax assessors and collectors would be disbanded and converted into producers. The socially righteous principle, *each for all*, would be recognized as the corner-stone of a true social system. It would thus be possible to answer in the negative the question asked in the article above referred to: "Can any one with self-respect accept daily and hourly the benefit of protection, safety, comfort—of streets, lights, drainage, sewerage, police, schools, roads, fire-engines, and the rest—and let his neighbors pay his share?"

V. — *The Liquor Traffic undermined.*

"Judge, so long as there is eight cents profit on a ten-cent drink, you will never stop the liquor traffic." — *Liquor Seller about to be sentenced.*

It is conceded that the liquor traffic is the most gigantic evil that now preys upon society. Wise men stand aghast at its enormous proportions and appalling results. It perplexes statesmen and legislators. The frightful statistics continually spread before us yield but a faint idea of the waste and wickedness, the cruelty and crime, caused by it. According to Mr. Gladstone, the liquor traffic has cost more money and misery in Great Britain than wars, pesti-

lence, and famine combined. It has been rightly called "the devil in solution."

Americans are optimists when their country is spoken of; and looking at the vastness of our territory, the magnitude of our resources, our unprecedented history and enormous wealth, listening to the terrific thud of our industries, and remembering that this Great Western Ship of State is being steered by Anglo-Saxon grit and grip, there is ground for our optimism; yet notwithstanding our material greatness, our faith in the perpetuity of free institutions is exactly measured by the morality of the people. It is oppressive to be told that in spite of the increasing number of temperance organizations and total abstiners, the efforts of the church, temperance literature and legislation, the consumption of alcoholic liquors is increasing more rapidly than population, education, churches, and wealth. In 1840 we consumed four gallons of intoxicating drinks *per capita*; in 1883, twelve gallons. During the five years ending in 1884 population increased 15 per cent, while the use of distilled liquors increased 44.5 per cent, and that of malt liquors 60.2 per cent.¹

It is believed by thoughtful and conservative men that our civilization is engaged in a death struggle with intemperance. This insatiate Moloch, appeased only with human sacrifices and frequently demanding the first-born, finds its surest support in the love of money. Take away the power of making money by this traffic, and the heaviest gun of the enemy is spiked. A judge about to sentence a liquor-dealer who had been repeatedly before the court for the same offence, said to him, "I propose to stop this traffic by imposing upon you the severest penalty the law will allow." Looking the judge calmly in the face, the liquor-dealer replied, "Judge, as long as there is eight cents profit in a ten-cent drink, you will never stop it."

The capital invested in the liquor business is enormous. A moderate estimate places it at \$1,000,000,000, of which \$75,000,000 are in the city of Boston. Hon. P. V. Deuster,

¹ "Our Country" (Josiah Strong), p. 75.

member of congress from Wisconsin, in a speech in favor of the whiskey interests, declared, "That the total market value of the spirituous, malt, and vinous liquors produced in 1883 was \$490,961,588."¹ The census for 1880 showed that \$132,051,260 were invested in their manufacture. The annual liquor bill of the United States is \$900,000,000."

It is this love of money that gives the liquor interests such power in politics and which corrupts legislators, bribes officers, demoralizes juries, perverts the course of justice, and in other ways debauches the public and private conscience. A judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts recently administered this stinging rebuke to a jury in a liquor case: "I do not hesitate to say, sitting here as a judge, that the evidence in that case left no doubt in my mind that the defendant was guilty. I do not see how the jury could intelligently and conscientiously have acquitted him."²

The liquor-dealers of Illinois instructed their new Board of Trustees to "spare neither trouble nor expense to properly organize every senatorial district in the State, so that, by the time of the next election of members of the General Assembly, the business men engaged in the liquor trade may be thoroughly organized and disciplined." The Brewers of New York claim to control 35,000 votes. An employee in a brewery who, serving on a jury, voted to convict a saloon-keeper, was immediately discharged. The liquor lobby at Albany, N. Y. (1878-79), admitted that it had expended \$1,000,000 to influence legislation. "Although the liquor lobby during the last forty years has used *millions of dollars in corrupt bargaining and bribery*, and never has made a secret of the fact, yet no member was ever caught in the act, and, it is fair to presume, no one ever will be. There is no way so dark they cannot find their road through."³ It is notorious that our cities are controlled by the liquor power. In 1883 twelve out of the twenty-four aldermen of New York were, or had been,

¹ "Our Country" (Josiah Strong), p. 79.

² Judge Justin Dewey: "Springfield Republican," November, 1891.

³ "Our Country" (Josiah Strong), p. 83.

liquor-dealers. There is hardly a city in the United States in which the saloons do not exercise more power in local government than all the educational, religious, and industrial institutions combined.

The same is true of Europe. In a recent remarkable speech, Lord Randolph Churchill said of the liquor power in England, "The liquor interest is an organization so powerful that it is almost like a Prussian army. It can be mobilized at any moment, and brought to bear upon the point that is threatened. It has already directly overthrown two governments." The drink bill of the United Kingdom for 1891 was 141,250,000 pounds, or about \$706,250,000, an increase over 1890 of \$8,750,000. This equals nearly \$100 for each family of five persons. Well may English statesmen stand aghast in the presence of this peril.

In the abolition of private capital Socialism would smite King Alcohol in his most sensitive and vulnerable spot.

We do not overlook the imperious nature of the alcoholic appetite; or the relation of supply to demand. We say that the traffic increases the appetite, and private capital stimulates the traffic; and we say, furthermore, that the demand for intoxicating drink no more justifies society in furnishing the supply, than the demand for the indulgence of other appetites and desires socially hurtful would justify society in supplying the opportunities for their gratification.

It is not claimed that intemperance would altogether cease in the Socialistic state; but by making private gain impossible in connection with the traffic, a tremendous incentive to the evil, one which now paralyzes all efforts for its suppression, would be entirely removed. It would put an end also to the mischievous practice of adulterating liquors, since the State would have no interest to serve in the poisoning of its citizens.

In another way the present industrial system is the strongest ally of intemperance. A large per cent of drunkenness is due to overworked hands and overtaxed brains. Care, anxiety, the nervous strain which men are everywhere under, cause them to resort to strong drink. So

severe is this competitive struggle that the most exhaustive labors are often felt to be positively necessary, and a resort to alcoholic stimulants perfectly justifiable. Remove the cause and you remove the effect. Socialism removes the cause. It insures freedom from excessive manual labor, and from the care and pressure that now weigh and prey upon multitudes who feel unable to bear the strain without the aid of alcohol.

VI. — *The Overworked Relieved.*

“*Res est sacra miser*” (A suffering person is sacred). — PROVERB.

We are so accustomed to see a portion of our fellow-men toiling incessantly, and another portion living in idleness, or busy only in the pursuit of what is pleasurable and frivolous, that we fail to realize the social injustice involved in this state of things. A little reflection, however, will convince any candid mind that this glaring inequality in the conditions of life is unnatural, unjust, and due to the artificial arrangements of society, whereby the strong are enabled to exploit the weak.

God has not intended, but only tolerated, this evil; and there is no surer way to alienate still farther from Christianity the toiling masses, than by assuring them that divine justice sanctions the wrong, and the gospel of Christ bids them be patient and endure to the end, in the hope that God will be no respecter of persons in the next world, even though he appears to be in this.

The church can no longer countenance the idea which has held a controlling place among its *leges non scriptas*, that God has two standards of justice; one for the life that now is, and one for the life to come. If the church preaches a heaven without caste, it must cease to accommodate itself to the demands of caste here.

No distinction of caste is more repugnant to the spirit of Christianity than that founded on the disparagement of labor. Its essential shallowness and meanness is seen when one reflects that the labor and laborers most shunned and despised are precisely the ones most necessary to

human happiness and even existence. As, for example, the digger at the bottom of the sewer, who is taking poison from our door, or the coal-carrier, begrimed with sweat and dirt, while bringing to us the warmth without which we should perish.

We have shown (chapter ii., section 10) the hardship and suffering endured by those who are compelled to work beyond their strength. Disease and death are the angels of mercy that put an end to their misery. The real murderer, however, is society, which upholds an industrial *régime* that demands these human sacrifices. We read with horror that the ancients killed their decrepit men and women to get rid of them, and the Spartans had a board of judges to examine all infants at birth, and, if found weak, to destroy them; but the course of the ancients was far more humane and merciful than the slow and refined methods of torture and death by which society now rids itself of its poor and weak. It is because of the indignity placed upon labor that so little is done to relieve those who are overworked. Good people who pray and pay for the prevention of cruelty to animals, often have less pity for men and women whose weak and weary bodies are racked with pain, and prematurely crushed under the burden of daily tasks from which there is no escape.

Work under proper conditions is the duty of all the able-bodied; but it is cruel to put to the torture of protracted manual labor the sick, the aged, and children of tender years. Nothing, however, is more common than the spectacle of old men, stiff and crippled by half a century of unremitted toil, compelled to stand side by side with workmen in the prime of their powers, or moving to and fro with bent forms and measured tread. How many frail and toil-worn women one everywhere meets whose very flesh and blood are being wrought into the commodities they make. Thousands of pale-faced wives and mothers are compelled, in defiance of all conjugal and domestic laws, and of the imperative claims of maternity, to go to their daily tasks in shop or mill, and to return at night weary and hopeless to their neglected and cheerless homes.

We have only to consult the labor reports to learn how vast is the army of children toiling in factories and shops, with dwarfed minds, dulled sensibilities, and stunted bodies. Mrs. Browning, whom Mr. Cook happily calls "Shakespeare's daughter," has put into "The Cry of the Children" the cruel facts to which society can no longer turn a deaf ear: —

"The young lambs are bleating in the meadows;
 The young birds are chirping in their nests;
 The young fawns are playing with the shadows;
 The young flowers are blowing towards the west;
 But the young, young children, O my brothers!
 They are weeping bitterly:
 They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
 In the country of the free.

'For oh!' say the children, 'we are weary,
 And we cannot run or leap;
 If we cared for the meadows, it were merely
 To drop down in them, and sleep.
 Our knees tremble sorely in the stooping;
 We fall upon our faces trying to go;
 And, underneath our heavy eyelids drooping,
 The reddest flowers would look as pale as snow.
 For all day long we bear our burden tiring
 Through the coal-dark underground;
 Or all day we drive the wheels of iron
 In the factories round and round."

Although we are so accustomed to see these overworked classes that we have come to regard their lot as a matter of course, a thing that cannot be helped, and one, therefore, over which it is not worth while to waste sympathy, yet we affirm that it is both unnatural and unnecessary, and due to organized selfishness and cruelty.

Factory acts and other legislation have done something to remedy the evil; but so long as the one basal principle of industry is *every one for himself*, there can be no effectual remedy. Charity only temporarily relieves individual cases.

The Socialistic state would put an end to this cruel wrong.

When all work, there will be no need of overwork on the part of any. Indeed, when all work, two or three hours of labor per diem would probably supply the demand of society for all commodities. If before the age of machinery the world's wants could have been met, according to Franklin's estimate, by four hours' daily labor on the part of every able-bodied citizen; and if the use of machinery has increased the productivity of labor ten-fold; then, had not human wants increased, twenty-four minutes' daily labor on the part of each would be sufficient to supply human needs. But granting that necessities have greatly multiplied, it is absolutely certain that, should all the able-bodied engage in labor, the hours of labor could be greatly shortened; none would be overworked; production might be vastly increased, and society immensely enriched. Never could another Burns, looking upon his poor over-worked brother, sing: —

“See yonder poor, o’erlabour’d wight,
So abject, mean, and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil;
And see his lordly fellow-worm
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful, though a weeping wife
And helpless offspring mourn.”

VII. — *The Purification of Politics.*

“Political prizes in the United States are now greater than they ever were in the Roman Empire, and are doubling in fatness and value every thirty years. Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus were never tempted by spoils as alluring as will dazzle and perhaps derange the American political future.” — JOSEPH COOK.

It is conceded that since the War of the Rebellion political corruption has advanced rapidly and boldly in the United States. Among the secondary causes are the extension of the civil service, due to the admission of States and increase of population; the unparalleled accumulation of wealth, and the consequent indulgence in extravagance and luxury; the introduction of vast hordes of foreigners,

who become an easy prey of demagogues; and the laxity in morals attendant on sudden prosperity. The remedial forces of society will doubtless counteract any immediate danger to our institutions from this evil. But what of the future? Public office is now regarded as a prize.

Upwards of 100,000 of these are the reward of success in a presidential election. Frauds, vaster and uglier than any recorded in history, have disgraced these elections. Rome was unblushingly put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder. It is an open secret that the highest office in the gift of the American people, once, if not twice, since the War of the Rebellion, was for sale by corrupt politicians. An investigation revealed such startling facts as these: "In Oregon \$5,000 were offered for an elector, and Democratic money sent to pay for the fraud; in Florida \$50,000 were thus offered by a responsible agent at Gramercy Park in New York; . . . in South Carolina \$80,000 were offered, and the money sent to Baltimore to pay for the fraud; . . . in Louisiana the Republican record is not clean, and the Democratic far from being so."¹ When a congressional committee demanded of the telegraph company the despatches on both sides, the company assured the committee that it "would compromise conspicuous men of both parties, and make a horrible scandal."

Leaders on both sides met and agreed to discontinue further examination of each other's record. Patronage in public office, and corruption-money, are institutions in our republic. The fact that our congressmen, with a few exceptions, are rich men, more than one-quarter of the members of a recent senate being millionnaires, can have but one meaning, and that is, that public office is *venal*. In 1890 seventeen United States senators were worth from \$1,000,000 to \$30,000,000 each.

Of the seventeen, only four took any part in shaping legislation or moulding public opinion. Men exceptionally good and true, who can say, as Ex-President Julius Seelye of Amherst College is reported to have said, "My election has cost me three postage-stamps," may sometimes

¹ "Labor" (Joseph Cook), p. 152.

be elected to office ; but it is a matter of the gravest import that money is becoming more and more the *sine qua non* of a successful candidacy.

An increasingly large class of voters are for sale at all important elections. Mr. Joseph Cook says he was told by a prominent politician, "Not far from New York City, that, when he put the question to a Democratic manager, 'How many of your day-laborers, minor mechanics, and men of small means, refuse to be bought?' the reply was, 'Not over a third. In a close election we can buy two-thirds of all the votes cast by the unfortunate class. The wealthy do not sell their votes, but those who need to exert themselves a little severely to make the year's ends meet, sometimes put down among their assets their votes. Father and four sons in a family put down \$25.00 for their votes among their assets.' I have heard . . . of a man being elected to Congress, who bought two hundred and fifty votes, and was carried into office by them ; and he kept a list of the men he bought, and used to show it to his friends as a matter of pride."¹

What constitutes the dark background of this portentous picture is the fact that the vast majority of laborers, no longer eligible to office, are perfectly indifferent to fraudulent raids upon the public treasury, or to political jobbery of any sort.

The lobby is an evil, natural, if not necessary, to the capitalistic system. It is a dangerous and disgusting tumor growing on legislative bodies, whose pus poisons the very fountains of law and justice ; and yet so seared is the public conscience that the average citizen looks upon the lobby as a legitimate institution ; honorable men do not hesitate to enter upon its dirty work, as the agents of corporations and other moneyed interests. It is asserted in Massachusetts that "high officials in the Legislature have declined re-election in order that they may sell to corporations the influence they have obtained from their official position." The charge is made, however, not as an attack upon indi-

¹ "Labor" (Joseph Cook), p. 155.

viduals, but upon a "system which blunts the consciences of honorable men and makes corruption inevitable"¹

The Legislature of California in 1891 was called the "Legislature of one thousand scandals," because of the bills introduced for the express purpose of having them bought off.²

The civil-service reform is a severe disappointment. More than 100,000 offices, connected with the executive functions of the government, are filled by appointment of the president. The Civil Service Reform Law enacted by Congress in 1883 has at this writing been applied to only 27,597 offices. Thus the law, one of the most important enacted since the war, and which gave promise of great things, is practically inoperative. The spoils' system, that unclean beast, still ravages society, polluting the whole political atmosphere.

Garfield while in Congress declared that one-third of the time of its members was demanded by office-seekers, and the system could not prevent unworthy men from gaining office. President Lincoln said the "wriggle and scramble for office" threatened the existence of the republic. A fierce and shameful struggle for a corruption fund of \$60,000,000 occurs every four years.

The day is not far distant when our civil service, already colossal, will require 200,000 office-holders. All the signs of the times indicate that our republic is destined to grapple with the question of political corruption in a fiercer, mightier struggle than the world has ever witnessed. Is there no danger to free institutions from all this? No candid man will deny that money, private wealth, is the prime instrument in this corruption. Abolish private wealth, and the whole system of patronage in office, along with its concomitants of venality and bribery, must fall with it. It is the system that is wrong. It is futile to blame individuals, to censure public officials for doing the very thing they are expected, if not elected, to do. Yet this is what men and newspapers are continually

¹ George D. Ayers, President of the National Club.

² "The New Nation," January 30, 1892.

doing. To support a system, and at the same time make war on those who administer it, is the popular *modus operandi* of civil-service reform.

The spoils' system is a deadly enemy of the republic. We have no sympathy with those who advocate a compromising policy in dealing with it; who, instead of abolishing it, prefer to employ palliatives and to invent remedies to counteract its evils.

The Socialistic state strikes at the system. By abolishing private wealth it renders political corruption impossible. Eliminate the factor of money in politics, and nothing is left but character or fitness as a passport to public office. Surely this consideration alone would be an immense gain to society.

VIII. — *Illiteracy removed.*

"If this Union was in jeopardy while one part was slave, and one part free, it is also in jeopardy while one part is taught, and another part untaught." — *Chicago Advance*.

We have called attention to the general dissemination of knowledge as among the causes of Socialism. Popular education throughout the world has made vast strides within two centuries; yet a vast amount of illiteracy remains, and in this country it is on the increase, and occasions serious apprehension.

Socialists of all schools lay special emphasis upon education.

The resolution passed at Eisenach in 1869 by the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party is representative. It demands, "Obligatory instruction in common schools, and gratuitous instruction in all public institutions for polite education."

The existing order is favorable to the higher education of the few, but compels the masses to remain in ignorance. The increase of illiteracy in the most prosperous States of the Union is a menacing fact. According to the census of 1880, there were 832,000 illiterate white voters in the Southern States. Of our 36,761,000 over ten years of age, 5,000,000

cannot read, and 6,239,000 cannot write. In six large States half the people are illiterate.

Compulsory education is helpful, but bears with severity upon the poor. Parents find it impossible to live without the labor of their children. Mines and factories find it profitable to employ children. Both parties seek to evade the law. It is for the private interest of the rich employer and the poor operative that children should be kept out of school. The competitive system is thus the enemy of education. As long as social forces continue to inflame the passion for riches, so long will labor be regarded only as a commodity; and as long as labor is regarded as only a commodity—an article of barter—so long will the children of laborers be kept in comparative ignorance. The English report of the Children's Employment Commission of 1866 says, "It is unhappily to a painful degree apparent throughout the whole of the evidence, that against no persons do the children of both sexes so much require protection as against their parents." The Second Annual Report of the New York Labor Bureau says, "The Compulsory Education Law is a dead letter."

There are 100,000 boys and girls under sixteen years of age in the city of New York earning their own living. No one will pretend that they are being educated. There are 100,000 children between ten and fifteen years of age daily roaming the streets of that great city, neither going to school nor engaged in any sort of labor.¹ There is here not only food for reflection, but cause for action. We are not surprised that in the year of grace 1890 New York City spent \$400,000 less for the public schools than for its police department. No faith in the destiny of the glorious republic, no popular superstition that God is on the side of the United States, can obscure the plain, unvarnished fact that, unless the tide of illiteracy turns, the time will come when one flag will no longer float over these States.

The fact to which we call especial attention, but which capitalism attempts to conceal, is that the capitalistic order is essentially hostile to popular education. This is no new

¹ "New York Press," September, 1890.

discovery of Socialism. Adam Smith declared it before Socialism was thought of.

"In the progress of the division of labor, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labor, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations; frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employment. . . . His dexterity at his own particular trade seems in this manner to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. *But in every improved and civilized society this is the state into which the laboring poor, that is, the great body of people, must necessarily fall.* . . . Notwithstanding the great ability of those few (who have ability and leisure), *all the nobler parts of the human character may be, in a great measure, obliterated and extinguished in the great body of the people.*"¹ Such is the effect of the division of labor under the capitalistic system, according to the clear, cool, unprejudiced judgment of the foremost orthodox political economist. How does Adam Smith propose to avert this dire result? By the Socialistic method of State interference in education. He says, "Let government take some pains to prevent it." Let us clearly understand that the general dissemination of knowledge is vastly more important to the nation and to the race than the higher education of the few. We would not be understood for a moment as concurring with those critics who claim that the Socialistic state would be unfavorable to higher education, or to those æsthetical and intellectual studies especially adapted to discipline the mind.

We heartily dissent also from the position frequently assumed, that the motives to intellectual effort are inseparably connected with the love of money, and will therefore cease with the abolition of private wealth. The desire of approbation, the innate thirst for knowledge, the satisfaction which talent and genius find in expressing themselves, are motives sufficiently strong for the severest mental exertion.

¹ "The Wealth of Nations" (Rogers' Edition), vol. ii., pp. 365-367.

Under the *régime* of Socialism, no one would have any *interest* in depriving the young of education, while each individual and society as a whole would be immensely benefited by it. Socialism would, therefore, naturally raise the general standard of education; and as the State would no longer encounter the forces that now oppose educational laws and their enforcement, illiteracy would disappear.

The State could give a longer time for schooling than is now possible, and a more thorough training to those destined for teachers and the professions generally. The hours of leisure, which would come to all when all engaged in labor, would also afford opportunities for literary pursuits. From such considerations we might reasonably suppose that the Socialistic state would secure greater attainment in learning than the world has yet seen. Then society might realize that happy condition wherein, in the words of Bacon, "Learning lights her torch at every man's candle."

It is true that certain learned professions might be eliminated under Socialism. The abolition of private wealth would remove in large measure the temptations to crime, and would do away altogether with private contracts. The legal profession, therefore, would virtually disappear. As society is now constituted it is indispensable; but certainly that social order which introduces a reign of peace, and renders lawyers unnecessary by removing the causes of crime and litigation, would be the fulfilment of the angelic prophecy uttered at the advent of the Saviour of the world, "Peace on earth, good will to men."

It is to be borne in mind that our present school system, of which we are justly proud, is thoroughly Socialistic in principle; but under the working of competition the principle is continually defeated. Socialism would only emphasize and enforce the principle by removing the obstacles to its operation.

IX. — *Poverty abolished.*

"Carlyle somewhere says that poverty is the hell of which the modern Englishman is most afraid. . . . You love your wife, you love your children; but would it not be easier to see them die than to see them reduced to the pinch of want in which large classes in every highly civilized community live?" — MR. HENRY GEORGE.

Poverty and riches are relative terms. Poverty in common parlance means not enough, and riches much more than enough, for physical well-being. When want of the necessities of life, or the struggle to get them, necessitates physical suffering, poverty exists. There are those who believe that poverty was ordained of God. They are content to leave the unfortunate to their fate: not that they disapprove of philanthropy or well-regulated charities, but any movement toward the abolition of the evil itself, especially if their own security is thereby threatened, is regarded as chimerical, and its authors as cranks or amiable idiots. Poverty is not ordained of God. Poverty in the midst of plenty is the work of Satan; to hold to the contrary is fatalism. If God and nature have doomed toiling multitudes, and millions yet unborn, to struggle with the horrors of poverty through a brief and miserable existence, and die in its cold, cruel embrace, then the most doleful pessimism is the truest philosophy. It is this sort of teaching that makes infidels and atheists. The church has acquiesced in this false philosophy.

She teaches that poverty is to be endured, rather than to be cured. She quotes the Scripture, "Ye have the poor always with you," as if poverty was a divine institution, sanctioned by, if not founded on, the gospel. She is ready to relieve the distress of poverty, and her charities are magnificent; but she utters no word to *prevent* poverty. Her alliance with wealth silences the voice that she would otherwise raise against an industrial system founded on economical assumptions that antagonize the whole spirit of the gospel; assumptions that both justify and necessitate poverty and pauperism.

"The tendency of purely economic forces," says Profes-

sor Walker, "is continually to aggravate the disadvantages from which any person or class may suffer. . . . Emphatically is it true that the curse of the poor is their poverty." The multitude of poor, their want, their suffering, their hopelessness, as a class, are regarded as necessary evils growing out of the nature of things. Current literature, religion, laws, customs, and social science itself, are leavened with this view of the poor, and accept it as final truth.

Now, this whole theory is the rankest social heresy. It is the most unchristian and inhuman doctrine that blots the nineteenth century. Poverty to-day in the midst of unparalleled prosperity, of unbounded wealth; poverty side by side with storehouses and granaries bursting with food and clothing, is not the legitimate fruit of a Christian civilization: it is unnatural and unnecessary. It is due to the artificial arrangements of society, whereby selfishness, strength, and smartness are enabled to monopolize the processes and products of industry. Let the fact be once recognized that poverty in the midst of plenty is not a natural thing, but a monstrous social crime, and men will no longer be content merely to dull its edges with crumbs of charity, but will lend their ears to measures designed to abolish it.

Socialism is such a measure. It aims at nothing less than the *prevention* of poverty by the distribution of the necessities of life among all the inhabitants of the State. It proposes to give nothing. It says *all* must work moderately and at tasks suited to their individual tastes and abilities; and then it guarantees to every individual the reward of honest labor; and this state of things we unhesitatingly declare to be in accordance with nature, revelation, and reason. It is asked how can the Socialistic state guarantee a support to all? We reply first, it is entirely immaterial *how* the State can do it. If it is right to do a thing, nay, if the thing ought to be done, the particular method employed is a secondary matter. Truth and righteousness will find a way, objections and objectors to the contrary notwithstanding. Second, the State at present finds no difficulty in providing a generous support for large

numbers of its employees and dependants; its soldiers are well fed and clothed. Public hospitals and asylums furnish all the necessities and comforts of life, and their sanitary arrangements may well be envied by most private dwellings. We have just returned from a visit to a reformatory prison containing six hundred boys and men. Whoever doubts the ability of the State to clothe, feed, and house her children in the neatest, healthiest, and most economical and orderly manner, should visit this institution.¹ Even luxuries were to be found on the bill of fare provided by the State, as the presence of a cord or more of watermelons testified; and this in the early season, before many private families had tasted this luxury.

We reply, in the third place, that when *all* labor for the State, the State would be far wealthier than at present. Indeed, the State, the body of the people, possesses little or nothing. Individuals are rich. The talk about *national* wealth is merely an accommodation to a false political economy, a clever device to cover up the social injustice of the capitalistic system, which enriches the few individuals, but leaves the great majority in the State in poverty. Let the State be sole employer, and let all the people work, and it is evident that the plague of poverty would disappear. A few hours' labor per day on the part of each individual would provide all the necessities, comforts, and luxuries that men require for the highest civilization. The State would have the immense advantage of regulating production according to the demand of the whole nation. The enormous waste in both material and labor thus saved would be itself a source of vast wealth to the nation.

It is not easy to see how an unprejudiced mind can doubt that when all work, and work for the State, the State will be abundantly able to support all its citizens. This, after all, is only saying that all men (who constitute the State) will be abundantly able to support themselves, and when ability, opportunity, and obligation assert their united claim upon a man, and guarantee him a just reward for labor, and render punishment for idleness severe and cer-

¹ The Reformatory at Concord, Mass.

tain, he will find it difficult, if not impossible, either to be idle or destitute. Thus the Socialistic state would abolish poverty.

X. — *Crime greatly decreased.*

"The crimes of to-day are due to the business and the social spirit of to-day." — EX-PRESIDENT HAYES.

"A faulty political economy is the fruitful parent of crime." — DR. THOMAS ARNOLD.

It is important that we understand the relation of the State or society to crime. Crime is against the State, hence the State may punish it. Sin is opposition to God. Many forms of sin are not cognizable by the State, and many offences which the State regards as crimes are not sins; they are simply *mala prohibita*. Society therefore decides what conduct is criminal, and fixes the penalty.

It follows that crime, both as to quality and quantity, depends on the constitution and laws of the State. If, for example, the State imposed no taxes, men would not be guilty of evasion; the State by laying duties renders smuggling possible, and makes it a crime. Let society abolish the liquor traffic, and drunkenness would disappear. We have abolished slavery, and no one is tempted to buy and sell slaves. The State, therefore, by its laws always determines the kinds and degrees of crime. Society is bound to do this; but if it enacts laws not grounded in righteousness or social justice, it, and not the law-breaker, is the morally guilty party. This leads to an important consideration in the relation of the State to crime.

The State, not only by its laws determines crime, but by the character of *its institutions* may be responsible for it; may *actually cause it*. Parents, excusing the evil conduct of their children, frequently and justly say, "The blame is ours." The children are what they are by virtue of their bringing up. So the State, which Cicero said was the mother of us all, is responsible for her children. If she adopts social institutions and economical principles that work injustice and hardship toward any class of her chil-

dren, and crime is the consequence, she, rather than her victim, is the real criminal. The present order of society offers continual temptations to large numbers of people to commit criminal acts.

Observe the working of competition. Two men begin the struggle for existence: one is strong, the other weak. Society says to the weak one, "You shall have no advantage or help in the struggle; we know you will be worsted, but we have adopted the institutions of freedom of contract and free competition, which allow a man to get all he can, and of private capital, which allows him to keep all he gets." It says to the strong one, "You may exercise to the fullest your superior strength: we know you will have every advantage over the weak one, and succeed in making him your footstool; but this is the right of *personal liberty*, which is sacred: we will, therefore, protect you in the enjoyment of it." Herbert Spencer thus formulates this doctrine: "Justice requires that individuals shall severally take the consequences of their conduct, neither increased nor decreased. The superior shall have the good of his superiority, and the inferior the evil of his inferiority."

The consequence of this unequal and cruel struggle for which society has become responsible, is that we have large classes which feel that they have been crushed down and out by social forces over which they have no control; and it is from these classes that criminals are mostly recruited.

The enforced idleness, inevitable under the present system, means crime. Of 1,060 convicts in the Eastern penitentiary of Pennsylvania, only 19 are bred mechanics. The vast majority of criminals are made such by the want of work. The report of Rev. W. J. Batt, the moral instructor in the Concord Reformatory (Mass.), containing a population of six or seven hundred men, whose average age is twenty-two, says that idleness and indolence are sources of crime as prolific as strong drink.¹ Social and economical forces, the industrial environment, are most potent factors in the development of character; in other

¹ "The Congregationalist," Jan. 23, 1890.

words, society for the most part causes crime and poverty. This is an unwelcome truth. It is not for the interest of those who are at the top, and manage the social machine, to see or admit it; hence the criminal victim is unsparingly condemned; hence the popular flavor of such proverbs as, "Every tub must stand on its own bottom;" "God helps the man who helps himself." This maxim with many is equivalent to the sentiment that "God is on the side of the heaviest artillery:" might makes right. This is individualism. This is the sacred symbol of private capital, freedom of contract, and free competition, that destroys all sense of brotherhood, creates caste, disintegrates society, weaves a network of want and woe around the weak and unfortunate, stirs the bad blood of human nature, engendering envy, jealousy, pride, vanity, hatred, and the whole nest of inordinate desires and evil passions, and driving multitudes to crime.

We have some weighty, because disinterested, testimony, showing that society rather than the individual is responsible for crime. These witnesses were summoned to speak on the reformation of criminals.¹ Carleton T. Lewis, an officer of the Prison Association of New York, says of those sentenced to prison for crime, "Not less than eighty per cent, on the average, are susceptible to moral influences; that is to say, their character and habits are such that *when every possible influence that their surroundings can exercise is of the best, they may be expected to become decent, self-supporting members of society.*" The italics are ours. If social influences can *reform* criminals, can they not *prevent* crime? Nowhere is it more true, that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure;" and it is a hundred times easier. Equally pertinent is the testimony of Judge Henry A. Gildersleeve. He speaks of the criminal as "One who, by habit, surroundings, and circumstances, has drifted into a criminal life without any original intention of becoming a criminal, because very few persons ever start out with that intention." Again, "Many persons commit crime through the force of circumstances. much

¹ "The Independent," June 27, 1889.

against their own inclination, by reason of falling in with bad associates, by reason of great poverty, in order to gratify some temporary ambition; through a mistake in judgment they commit crime for the purpose of temporarily advancing their interests." Finally and directly to the point he says, "There are *many cases where young men may be said to have been made criminals by society.*" Thomas Byrnes, chief of the detective force in New York, says, "Most thieves sent to prison for the first time have stolen simply because they *wanted money at the time* for some particular purpose. In an unfortunate moment they happened to steal; they are found out, convicted, and sent to jail, though probably they know nothing about criminal life as such." Charles Stewart, Superintendent of the House of Industry, etc., of New York, quotes approvingly the declaration of Señor Armengal of Spain, that "criminals might say, 'we are criminals because society used no means to make us virtuous.'" Alexander S. Williams, Inspector of the New York Police says, "Society itself makes criminals; . . . the attitude of criminals towards society is largely the fault of society itself; . . . but all the criminals are not known as such. A good many of our bank tellers, our bank presidents, and our ministers are morally bad; i.e., bad by nature. Have you not seen men who have lived apparently respectable lives, at death had tony funerals, but who were honest simply because they never saw a *safe* opportunity to be dishonest? All their lives they have been criminals, thieves in heart, and have simply been honest through fear, or because they could not get the price for the crime they were willing to commit." One might reply to this, that if society makes thieves it also makes men honest. Yes, honest after a fashion; but Heaven save us from this sort of honesty! On the whole, this officer's utterance contains the severest stricture on existing society we have yet recorded. James W. Ridgeway, District Attorney for King's County, says, "Society does not always treat the criminal right. When a man comes out of prison, and shows a disposition to do right, if society would take hold of him, try and do something for

him, encourage him, and not constantly show that it is suspicious of him because he once went wrong, there would be more criminals reformed than there are at present." Patrick G. Duffy, Police Justice of New York City, is hopeless as to the reformation of criminals. He says they "are *born bad*." Evidently he has no faith in society as now constituted to reform them: "What is inborn in a man or woman cannot be eradicated by the modern methods advocated by good but mistaken people interested in stopping crime. It is the fact that the children of criminals generally become criminals."

From this standpoint the only effectual remedy could be in a society so constituted that all temptation to crime would be taken away. Rev. J. G. Bass, visiting missionary to the King's County Prison, arraigns society severely for its attitude towards criminals. He says, "Men come out of prison with the very best intentions of doing right, *but society does not give them a fair chance*." He asks, "What is the man coming out of prison, without friends, without money, to do? If he begs, he is liable to be arrested for vagrancy. He either steals or starves; he steals, and gets back to prison. There are two in prison now who came out without a penny not less than thirteen times." He shows that a class of criminals are made such "*from force of circumstances*." The following is from Ex-President Hayes: "Consider; there are two classes of criminals in all civilized countries. . . . The crimes of capital and the crimes of sudden wealth. . . . That spirit leads to the crimes of those who are at the top of the wall of fortune, not always punished, not always convicted, too frequently admired and envied. The opportunities here by speculation, by gambling, by every description of illegitimate effort, to make great fortunes, leaving others without that opportunity, are a great cause of crime in this country; and then I say, with Governor Seymour, 'For all this *the community itself is more or less responsible in their laws, in their conduct of business, in their general lives*.'"¹ The italics are ours. A single witness more. Mrs. Conger,

¹ As quoted in "The Nationalist," November, 1890.

Superintendent of the New York Bible and Fruit Mission, declares that even praying will not help criminals, "unless they watch themselves at the same time and see that they avoid temptations." "Avoid temptations!" Yes, by all means; but how? the criminal asks. Why, keep away from hunger and cold. Under no circumstances be poor; for all admit that poverty is a great temptation to crime. "Avoid" wishing that you had the comforts of the well-to-do, or could taste their pleasures; for the wish is father to the deed. "Avoid" being born amid unfavorable circumstances, since, as Carlyle says, the first five years determine your entire subsequent life. When the *crisis* forces you and tens of thousands out of work, keep right on and "avoid" idleness, —

"For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do."

Shun a clerkship, for here honesty may be fatal. Fournier when a little boy was punished for telling the truth in a childlike manner to a customer who was purchasing goods in his father's store. Imagine a clerk saying, "This piece of goods is all wool, though it is shoddy; it will not wear well, is of light weight, and sure to fade; how many yards will you have?" He would not be allowed to tell the truth twice in that store, and his discharge would cast no reflection upon the proprietor; any other policy, under competition, might bankrupt him. "Avoid" bad associates. We have shown you how "society," that is, the good people, are ready to receive you with open arms. "Avoid" trade, for the fierce competition will continually tempt you to do otherwise than you would wish to be done by. Do not attempt to manufacture any commodity, not even baking-powder, for the temptation to adulterate, deceive, and cheat, is irresistible. "Avoid" any contact with people who wear finer clothes, live in finer houses, and drive finer horses than you, and you will escape the "temptations" to envy. There are, indeed, worthy politicians; but look not upon politics, for they "are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." Above all,

have no desire to be rich. We who are not criminals diligently "avoid" this temptation; for God says, "They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts." In a word, the way to "avoid temptations" is to let money alone; "for the love of money is a root of all evil."

All this is absurd! exclaims one. Of course it is, as society is now constituted. To "avoid temptations" would be suicidal; we do not advise any one to try it. We do not advise the mariner on a leaky vessel to jump overboard, but we do recommend the abandonment of the vessel for a seaworthy one as soon as we can make a harbor and do it with safety; and we believe it is the part of wisdom to head the vessel toward the harbor, and employ all reasonable means to get it there. Our insistence is, that society is at present so constituted that it offers continual temptation to large numbers to commit criminal acts. If the testimony we have adduced fails to convince any one of the responsibility of society in this respect, we have little encouragement to reason with him. None of these witnesses, so far as we know, are Socialists, and this fact gives additional weight to their testimony. Their righteous condemnation of society will incline many to look with favor upon Socialism as the only preventive of crime. We do not exonerate individuals from all guilt in the commission of crime. There is no danger that their case will be overlooked. What we insist on is that society by tempting to crime is a *particeps criminis*, and the more guilty party.

The responsibility of society extends not only to crime, but to the entire *status* of the individual; his material as well as moral condition is determined to a degree not yet recognized even by social philosophers, by laws, customs, and institutions which society adopts, and by its *esprit de corps*, which is a direct consequence. The dismal belief that some are rich and others poor not from *social*, but from *natural* causes, has all the force and effect of a popular prejudice. It causes even wise and good men to look with favor upon the present system, and with suspicion upon any attempt to modify it. "Nature does not produce

on the one side owners of money or commodities, and on the other men possessing nothing but their own labor-power. This relation has no natural basis, neither is its social basis one that is common to all historical periods. It is clearly the result of a past historical development, the product of many economical revolutions, of the extinction of a whole series of older forms of social production."¹

It is not *nature*, then, but *society*, that gives to the rich man his wealth. Suppose him to be the owner of a tract of land in the heart of a growing city, or even in the country; this land has little or no value except what society, that is, the quantity and quality of other people who are near to or have access to it, impart. It amounts to the same thing, to say its value depends upon its location.

"Those qualities of the soil that are in the fullest sense original and indestructible, the qualities that would have existed if man had never been created . . . have, at present, no direct influence on rent."² This writer says the properties that give land a rental value, that is, that render it economically worth anything, have been created by "collective action," and such as "individuals impart by the direct labor of improvement." These "individuals," however, are not isolated, for rent is the product and concomitant of "collective action," which may, therefore, include individual action for the present purpose. It is, therefore, "collective action," *social forces*, that make the land-owner rich. Similar logic shows that most forms of individual wealth, as it now exists, are due to the operation of the same forces. But if society is responsible for individual *wealth*, it is responsible for individual *poverty*. It is likewise responsible in a large degree for personal intelligence and ignorance, for virtue and vice, morality and crime. Crime will cease when temptation is removed. This is the high purpose, the glorious aim, of the Socialistic state. It will remove all temptation to the great bulk of crime that now exists. Abolish private capital, and you

¹ "Capital" (Marx), p. 147.

² "Capital and its Earnings" (J. B. Clark), p. 33. Publications of the American Economic Association, May, 1888.

remove almost entirely the temptation to steal; and, should one steal from the State, he could make little use of the stolen property. Merchants could not cheat, for there would be an end to all buying and selling. Lying would no longer be "one of the great powers of Europe," or America, for there would be little to lie about. Manufacturers could not deceive, for the State would be the sole producer. Contractors would no longer defraud; bank defalcations would not be heard of when banks ceased to exist; trustees could not embezzle when there was no property to be held in trust: in short, all crimes against property, and crimes against persons, prompted by the desire of money, would certainly disappear in the Socialistic state, because *the temptation to commit them would be removed*. Abolish money and private property, and covetousness, which pervades society like a foul atmosphere, would disappear. Abolish money, and the moral pestilence of gambling would disappear forever. "Policy-shops to the number of fifty flourish in Boston alone, and \$800,000 a year is a low estimate of the amount betted in them. Poolrooms, where young clerks bet on ball-games and horse-races, flourish, seven hundred young men having been counted going in one during the short space of four hours. Ten per cent of the \$25,000,000 income of the Louisiana Lottery comes from Boston. Portland, Me., furnishes \$50,000 per month, and Springfield, Mass., \$60,000 to the same lottery."¹

Murder now offers premiums greater than a lifetime of toil can yield. To-day's paper heads the sickening details of a horrible butchery thus: "Murdered for their money." Another reads, "Poison did it — The will cannot be found." This is but a sample of what occurs every day in the year.

All this shedding of man's blood for money would cease under Socialism. False witnessing in four cases out of five occurs in connection with causes involving questions of property. It is not claimed that sin, superstition, and selfishness would not exist in the Socialistic state. Socialism does not undertake to transform the earth into a paradise,

¹ "The Congregationalist," May, 1891.

but merely to purify the atmosphere of the present industrial and social *loca inferna*.

Under the present social order poverty is one of the strongest motives to crime; but we have seen that in the new social order poverty cannot exist. A writer says, "As poverty is the cause, directly or indirectly, of all crime, therefore, by the abolition of poverty, crime would become almost unknown; and with the crime would disappear all the lice, leeches, vampires, and vermin that fatten on its filth: such as the entire legal fraternity, soldiers, police, spies, judges, sheriffs, priests, preachers, quack doctors, etc."¹

The inelegance and extravagance of this passage should not blind us to the truth it contains: diamonds are found in the dirt.

The ablest defenders of the capitalistic system concede the advantage, now under consideration, of the Socialistic state. Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey says, "There would be no tramps, no public beggars, and no strangers coming to steal. . . . In fact, the eighth commandment would be far easier to keep than in society as it now is. The sixth commandment, too, might also lie on the shelf; for if now a large part of the crimes of violence originate in desires for the property of others, they would be greatly diminished when property should cease to be in private hands. . . . Then a number of crimes, such as forgery, embezzlement, counterfeiting — all crimes, in fact, against property, and many of those which injure the person, would be much limited in their sphere of operation . . . and if an end were put to all these things, society evidently would return to a state of things in which lawyers, judges, and voluminous statutes would not be necessary.

"How far this simplification of life would be an indirect disadvantage by cutting off some of those causes on which the spice, variety, and spirit of life depend, I will not stop to inquire; but the direct good in several respects would be apparent."² This is a candid admission; but it contains

¹ As quoted in the "Labor Movement of America" (R. T. Ely), p. 235.

² "Communism and Socialism," pp. 261, 262.

one qualification that is interesting if not amusing. It is the fear expressed that the abolition of these crimes and their concomitants, lawyers and judges, would cut off "some of those causes on which the spice, variety, and spirit of life depend"! Some are so wedded to the capitalistic system that they find something attractive in its ugliest features.

Think of mourning the loss of the "spice, variety, and spirit of life" dependent on crime! The Socialistic state, opposed on the ground that the nerve of personal effort will be cut, life reduced to painful monotony, and hardly worth living, when stealing, lying, gambling, forgery, killing, and other allies of private enterprise, are no more! What will stir our sluggish blood when the clamor of the gambling stock-exchange is hushed? How insipid will street-life become when the brass-buttoned and billy-armed policemen dragging along his victim is seen no more forever! What incentive will be left to live, move, and have any being, when the "spice" of lying and cheating, when the "variety" of criminal reports, when the "spirit" of mammon, have abandoned the hearts of men, and taken refuge in the bosom of their father, the Devil? How all progress will be doomed when the individual has no longer any room for the free exercise of all his faculties and ingenuities under the guidance of supreme selfishness, to climb around and over his brothers, and weave a social web wherein they shall be reduced to toil and want, while he revels in ease and luxury! In a word, what hope for the race when the individual shall be denied the sacred right to do wrong?

Let us dismiss these unworthy fears. To indulge them is to distrust not only humanity, but God. Faith in God is faith in the right. Truth, justice, and love are to be fearlessly and wisely proclaimed and embraced, no matter what hindrances we encounter.

The present constitution of society furnishes temptation to crime. Socialism would remove it. The reformation of individuals is a noble work; the reformation of society is nobler, by as much as to prevent crime is better than to cure

it. Socialism makes this modest and most Christian demand in the language of another, "We do not claim that under Socialism men or women will be any better than they now are, or ever have been. We want to reform their *surroundings*, the *constitution of society*, the *mould* in which their lives, thoughts, and feelings are cast. Socialists want to make it the *interest* of all to be honest; to make it to the *advantage* of all to do their best work; to make it *natural* for men to love their neighbor as themselves."¹ "All this sounds very well," says an objector, "but you have left out of account the fact that men are depraved; 'the heart of men is set to do evil.' You put upon society the blame which belongs to the individual." We do not overlook the fact of personal depravity—and a tremendous fact it is; but it is clearly irrelevant to the present issue. One might as well say drunkenness will exist since men are depraved, therefore we will not shut up the saloons, or do anything to remove temptation. The man who will uphold a social system that tempts men to lie and steal, on the ground that depravity leads them to commit these offences, is guilty of the grossest inconsistency. We do not abate one jot or tittle of personal responsibility. It is fatalism to say that man is the creature of circumstances. It is Christian truth to say that he is *to a large extent* the creature of circumstances. The Germans got hold of a truth that needed an emphasis that nothing but overstatement can give, when they declared that social and industrial surroundings make the man. Had the reader been born in the heart of Africa he would have been an African, socially, morally, mentally, and in every other respect. Even right here in the heart of civilization, if we ask a Christian why he belongs to this or that religious sect instead of another, in nine cases out of ten he will tell you, if he is honest, that it is because his parents belonged to it. Environment has far more to do with character than we are wont to admit. Every man contributes something toward forming future environments, that is, social institutions; and for this contribution he is to be held to the strictest account. The man who prays,

¹ "The Co-operative Commonwealth" (Grönlund), pp. 253, 254.

"Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," and then indorses a set of economical assumptions that constitute the warp and woof of society, and which naturally and inevitably lead men into all manner of "temptations" and "evil," may regard himself as innocent because of his ignorance; but when light has broken in upon him, if he still prefers darkness to light he will regard himself as a hypocrite, and be so regarded by reflective and candid minds.

XI. — *The Prevention of Waste.*

"Society has become obliged to husband its resources; if it will do so most effectually by means of private property, private property will stand; if not, then it must fall. Of course land is not the only kind of property that is subject to this social claim." — JOHN RAE.

Capitalism is responsible for enormous economic waste, which would largely disappear under Socialism. Political economists are reticent respecting waste. The word does not even appear in the index to Adam Smith or Ricardo. It is ignored by nearly all modern economists. The American economists, F. A. Walker and R. T. Ely, barely mention it. Waste, however, is one of the most important of economic phenomena. The reason for this silence is not difficult to understand.

Waste and competition are as inseparably connected as were the Siamese Twins. To attack waste, therefore, is to attack competition, which is the tap-root of the economic tree. It is not to be expected that its advocates will lay the axe at the root of the tree. The only attempt to prevent waste consists in a little pruning of seared leaves, the removal of remote twigs and superfluous blossoms, while the huge and monstrous limbs of waste that grow directly from the trunk are not disturbed, lest the life of the tree be endangered. This will be apparent from considerations which we shall presently offer.

What is waste? Professor Francis A. Walker says that waste in its broadest sense expresses "the breakage and the undue wear and tear of implements and machinery, the destruction or impairment of materials, the cost of super-

vision and oversight to keep men from idling or blundering, and, finally, the hindrance of many by the fault or failure of one." ¹

This is not proposed as a scientific definition, but of waste only as it affects, "*the value of the laborer's services to the employer.*"

We define economic waste as the *needless impairment, loss, or destruction of utility without equivalent gain.*

It must be *needless*. If wrought by nature, or causes beyond man's control, it cannot be regarded as waste in the economic sense, because it cannot be said to be needless. In the popular sense waste is loosely employed to include many losses of utility that cannot be avoided. In his recent unique and valuable treatise on "Political Economy" (p. 276), Professor Ely says, "The most important economic waste is caused by the death of man, the chief agent in production."

This conception of waste seems to us too wide. Death is natural and inevitable; man is in no way responsible for it. If economic waste can be predicated of death, it can be predicated of the blowing of the wind, the shining of the sun, or the motion of the ocean waves; for these all, frequently, cause the loss or destruction of utility; but they cannot be said to be *needless*, therefore they cannot properly be said to produce waste. To attribute economic waste to the operation of the irresponsible forces of nature, is in great measure to relieve man of responsibility, and to confound the distinction between natural or mental and moral philosophy.

Political economy is the product of the human mind, and as such justly places upon human society a large measure of responsibility for its phenomena. Among the causes of waste for which the capitalistic system is responsible, the following twenty are conspicuous.

1. Needless Railways.

The waste from this source is enormous. "There are very few roads," says Professor Arthur T. Hadley, "which could not advantageously handle a much larger traffic than

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 48.

they at present enjoy. If you attempt to do this on two lines instead of one, it is just so much waste."¹ The relentless struggle between competing roads has frequently resulted not only in bankrupting the roads, but in carrying ruin to industries established along the lines and dependent on them.

To this kind of competition the most villanous word in our language, namely, cut-throat, is applied and justified by the very essence of the competitive principle. If the two roads are equally matched in power and pluck, competition is perfect, the fight is terrific, and the ruin complete. Parallel lines of railways furnish conspicuous examples of waste. For example: the West Shore and the Nickel-plate roads run parallel from New York to Chicago. \$200,000,000 were wasted in their construction. This was "a sum sufficient to build 200,000 homes for a million people. Probably the waste in railway construction and operation in the United States during the past fifty years would be amply sufficient to build comfortable homes for every man, woman, and child now in the country."² Thus speaks a thoroughly competent and disinterested witness; and it is one of the most scathing indictments ever brought against the capitalistic system. It is conceded on all sides that Socialism would put an end to this species of waste.

2. Needless Stores and Manufactories.

These are seen in every town of considerable size. "What is the need of so many stores in this place?" is the common-sense question every one asks till silenced in the high and mighty name of competition. Every one understands that the people in the community support its stores and shops. If two or ten stores exist where only one is needed, then the people must support two or ten instead of one. Should a merchant employ ten clerks, or a manufacturer ten workmen, when only one was necessary, or should a farmer keep ten horses to do the work of one, it would be regarded as proof of insanity.

¹ "Private Monopolies and Public Rights," in the "Quarterly Journal of Economics," October, 1886.

² "Political Economy" (Ely), p. 254.

But should not a community, an incorporate body of citizens, conduct business economically? Is it any less insane for a community to support ten stores when only one is necessary? We do not overlook the increased expenses of a store supplying ten times as many customers; but this is almost as nothing compared with the enormous waste of maintaining nine useless establishments. This, however, takes place in a single community. Reflect for a moment on the fact that, under capitalism, clerks and employers often have nothing to do half the time. Imagine the enormous aggregate waste on this account!

We have no statistics to help us in this matter; but when we consider the vast number of needless stores throughout the country, when we reflect that tens of thousands of proprietors and their families, that hundreds of thousands of clerks, that costly buildings, occupying valuable land, almost without number, are needlessly maintained by the productive laborers of the country, we may get some idea of the colossal waste from this source. Socialism would reduce the number of stores to the actual needs of society, and thus enable the millions who are now mere consumers to engage in production. What has been said respecting superfluous stores is true, though in a less degree of manufacturing establishments. It is claimed, however, that private has great advantages over public management of industries; that the latter is more extravagant and wasteful. This seems at first view plausible, and with many is conclusive.

Mr. John Rae says, "Capitalistic management is proverbially unrivalled for two qualities in which bureaucratic management is as proverbially deficient, economy and enterprise."¹ Accordingly he says that "the probabilities all point to the conclusion that capitalistic management . . . is really cheaper than that by which Socialism would supersede it." Even if his first statement is true, his "conclusion" is wholly unwarranted. It assumes that the results of bureaucratic management under capitalism would be the *same* under Socialism where the conditions are entirely changed. He admits that Socialism involves the most radi-

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 360.

cal political and industrial changes, and yet he assumes that these changes would in no way affect the bureaucratic management as it exists under capitalism.

We shall show (page 368) that at present such management is apt to be a mere political affair. Large numbers of citizens feel no interest whatever in these products of machine politics. The political managers do not consult the people, and do not feel responsible to them. This state of things could not exist under Socialism, where all work would be under bureaucratic management; where the food, clothing, and shelter, in a word, the entire well-being of each individual, would depend upon bureaucratic management, and where, as a necessary consequence, every citizen would take the keenest interest in such management. Is it not reasonable to infer that bureaucratic management might fail now, where it would succeed under Socialism?

Having thus seen that Mr. Rae's statement, if true, does not support his "conclusion," we now seriously question its truth. Professor Ely says that when "services of a monopolistic nature are performed by the public . . . a better management is the result. It is only a popular superstition that private enterprise is superior to public enterprise."¹ From returns received by him from twenty American cities owning electric-lighting plants, he finds that the average cost of lights per night was less than fourteen cents, while seventy-five private companies in various cities charged over forty-two cents for a similar light, — more than three times as much. He shows the superiority, as carriers, of the public post-offices over private express companies, both as respects promptness and courtesy. The same is true also of public over private management of the telegraph, gas-works, etc., as is seen both in Europe and in the United States.

The writer is personally acquainted with a number of the employees in the United States Armory at Springfield, Mass., and with its management. This is a governmental manufacturing establishment doing a large business. So far from there being any lack of incentive to effort on the

¹ "Political Economy," p. 255.

part of employees, or any disadvantage from bureaucratic management, there is not only a careful avoidance of waste, and a sound economic administration in all departments of the business, but there is a marked degree of personal interest, pride, and fidelity in the workmen; and, what is more, the average character of the workmen, in intelligence, morals, and good citizenship, has long been a source of just pride in the entire community. In view of these, among other considerations, is there not some foundation for the belief that the Socialistic *régime* would render the industrial conditions so favorable for State management, that it would be cheaper than private management, and result in the saving of waste?

3. Needless Advertising.

Competition has given rise to a vast system of Advertising. Every person who purchases a commodity must pay an additional price on account of this expense. Advertisements are costly. Newspapers set them forth in flaming type; they are blazoned on barn walls and mile-boards; they meet us in hotels, street-cars, and on corners; in fact, everywhere: magnificent buildings, elegant furniture and fixtures, dazzling with electric lights; windows of expensive plate glass, and the most extravagant appointments; floors inlaid with silver and gold coins, gilded signs; and curious and costly devices arrest attention and woo the purchaser. The article purchased is covered with trade-marks, stamps, and labels, exquisitely wrought, and which cost frequently more than the article itself; and, lastly, it is wrapped in paper stamped with the name of the dealer, and sent to the purchaser in a delivery wagon covered all over with huge gaudy letters that can be seen from a distance of a quarter of a mile. This is expensive business. The writing of advertisements has become a profession. A compensation of \$10,000 per annum is not unfrequently received by an adept for writing attractive advertisements. A proposed ordinance in the city of Boston, prohibiting the distribution of hand-bills on the streets, is opposed by the printers and paper-dealers of that city, on the ground that they would lose \$500,000 thereby. Let it be remembered that

this advertising is utterly needless and wasteful; that the cost in the aggregate would clothe and feed the poor throughout the whole country; that while society is in no way benefited, it is in every way injured by it; that it corrupts the press, engenders unwholesome rivalry, makes exaggeration and lying fine arts, and increases the burden not only of every laborer, but of society generally. Socialism, by abolishing competition, would put a stop to this evil. Aside from the waste it involves, the spirit of modern advertising is peculiarly offensive to all refined and Christian instinct. Mr. Bellamy's representation of an advertisement is true to the spirit, and almost to the letter: "Help John Jones; never mind the rest. They are frauds: I, John Jones, am the right one. Buy of me. Employ me. Visit me. Hear me, John Jones. Look at me. Make no mistake: John Jones is the man, and nobody else. Let the rest starve; but for God's sake remember John Jones."

Nowhere is the wolf of competition unmasked, and his malevolent purpose revealed, more than in advertisement. Its spirit is essentially selfish, heathen, and inhuman; and yet it is so essential to capitalistic society that men everywhere regarded as Christians, and regarding themselves as such, freely resort to it without a thought of inconsistency.

4. Needless Drummers.

A form of advertising worthy of separate mention is that of employing men on "the road" to solicit custom. It would seem that by means of printing, engraving, and the almost perfect mail service, this species of waste, even under the present system, might be cut off; but competition is inexorable. "Careful estimates from a variety of reliable sources place the number of commercial travellers in this country at 250,000. Their railroad fares, express, or freight upon baggage, hotel bills, and incidental expenses, range from \$4.00 to \$12.00 and more a day, averaging about \$6.00 daily. Salaries range upwards from \$900 a year. Thousands of men earn \$2,000 and \$2,500 a year; a smaller number receive salaries between \$3,000 and \$5,000; while a comparative few are paid from \$5,000 to \$15,000, and

in rare instances even more. Of course, as in every field of employment, the lower salaries are vastly in the majority, and \$1,800 a year is a fair average.

Let us see what these figures will give us for the cost of this single element in competition. The expenses of 250,000 travelling men, at \$6.00 per day, amount to \$1,500,000 daily, or \$547,500,000 in 365 days. Then the salaries of 250,000 men, averaged at \$1,800 a year, aggregate \$450,000,000, so that the two items of salaries and travelling-expenses to be charged against the commercial traveller mount up to the astonishing total of \$997,500,000 a year. Nor is this all. In nearly every branch of business each man must be provided with his outfit of trunks, sample cases, and his more or less complete line of samples."¹ There are, as this writer shows, other items of expense, swelling the vast total to more than \$1,000,000,000. This colossal sum, annually expended to maintain the institution of drumming, is wasted. Drummers add nothing to the aggregate production of the country, and they do not, in the long run, affect consumption.

Employers in the first instance pay their expenses, but they are ultimately charged to the consumer in enhanced prices. The most ardent supporter of capitalism will not venture to deny that under Socialism this enormous waste would be saved.

5. Needless Enforced Idleness.

Leisure must not be confounded with idleness, and especially Enforced Idleness. The former may be a social gain, while the latter means waste as well as want. The capitalistic system is nowhere more justly open to criticism than in the enforced idleness which it causes. We have already considered this subject in connection with the causes of Socialism, and call attention now simply to the economic waste it involves. In England, during the last half of the year 1860, 90,000 were idle, while during the same period much machinery was standing idle for want of hands. During the year ending May 1, 1885, out of a working-force of 816,470 persons in Massachusetts, one-third were idle over

¹ Edward H. Sanborn in "The Nationalist," July, 1889.

three months. Statistics show that all wage-workers are idle about one out of every ten working-days in the year.

We can approximate our national loss during the last forty years from this cause. Let us take the middle year 1870. 2,000,000 wage-workers received \$620,000,000, or an average of \$310 each.

But if forced to be idle a tenth of this time, this sum represents only nine-tenths of what they should have received, and the remaining tenth was wasted. This would equal a waste to each laborer of more than \$33.00; and a total waste to society of about \$69,000,000 in a single year, and for the forty years ending with 1890, \$2,760,000,000.

In other words, the present system from enforced idleness alone has caused a waste during the last forty years equal to about one-seventeenth of all the property real and personal in the United States.

Furthermore, this enormous sum by no means represents the total loss from this cause; for in our calculation we have taken into consideration only those wage-workers engaged in manufacturing.

Could we extend the calculation so as to include the loss from enforced idleness of laborers engaged in agriculture, trade, transportation, mechanics, and mining, we should reach an aggregate of waste from this cause that would be nothing less than startling.

For this economic crime against society the capitalistic system is strictly responsible. It is the legitimate and inevitable product of its basal principles, *capital*, *contract*, and *competition*, free and individual. It is a kind of warfare in which every man loads and fires at will; it is without method, without system, without a single unifying principle, and without accountability. Is it any wonder that men shoot each other and themselves, to the great waste of ammunition and the sore wounding of society?

Manufacturers increase production with no means of knowing what others are doing, and the result is over-production. Men are continually going into business only to find that it is already overdone.

Laborers enter upon an occupation which, from a score

of causes, is soon overcrowded. The result is not only disappointment, but waste.

For example, to-day's paper says that, owing to depression in the ingrain-carpet industry, the manufacturers' association will advise a stoppage of twenty-five per cent of the looms for nine months.

The calamity that will overtake large numbers of operatives, suddenly forced into idleness and want, is looked upon as a matter of course, as natural and inevitable as a stroke of lightning. There is not a secular day in the year in which such items do not appear in the papers. Intelligent people are now reading between the lines, and putting questions to political economy that it has not been accustomed to hear.

We have said that waste from enforced idleness is inherent in the capitalistic system. Doubtless sporadic efforts for relief will continue to be made; but no social tinkering, no politico-economic palliatives, can do more than afford temporary and spasmodic relief. Socialism would remove effect by removing the cause. The last thing that Socialism would be likely to tolerate would be enforced idleness. Indeed, Socialism is objected to by its opponents because it proposes enforced labor; it is hardly necessary, therefore, to argue against waste from enforced idleness under Socialism. All the causes that now operate to throw laborers out of employment would be removed. Socialism would enroll every citizen as an employee. All work would be organized and regulated so as to equalize the burden. All would have work, and all would have leisure, and these are conditions under which waste could be reduced to a minimum.

6. Needless Commercial Crises.

In our discussion of Commercial Crises (chapter ii.) we did not allude to the waste caused by them. This is an important consideration. In connection with certain forms of waste, some advantage may frequently be found; but there is uniform testimony that crises are an unmixed evil, inflicting upon society, with almost tidal regularity, an industrial paralysis attended with financial ruin and a

general waste of economic force. In these "hard times" of depression, we witness a general stagnation of business. Warehouses, full of goods for which there is no demand, are locked up; factories shut down, and machinery stands idle; mines cease to be worked; transportation falls off; ruin stares traders in the face; failures occur on every hand; large bodies of working men are daily discharged, and vast capitals are idle.

We say nothing now of the struggle and agony accompanying financial ruin, or of the physical sufferings of the laboring poor, when to be without work means to be without bread. Our contention now is that this stoppage of all the wheels of industry and the idleness of multitudes of laborers involves a colossal economic waste for which capitalism is solely responsible. How the forces of capitalism combine to bring about the crisis is a matter about which political economists may differ; but that it is due, in some way, to private enterprise, is agreed by most terrestrial economists. A few account for crises by the celestial operations of the sun and moon: the argument is that the solar spots and lunar influences control the weather, the weather controls the harvest, and the harvest controls the crisis!

Mr. Francis Grönlund gives the genesis of crises in a terse and common-sense manner: "Private enterprise compels every producer to produce for himself, to sell for himself, to keep all his transactions secret; . . . but the producer and merchant . . . find daily out that their success or failure depends, in the first place, *precisely on how much others produce and sell*; and in the second place, on a multitude of causes, often on things that may happen thousands of miles away, which determine the power of purchase of their customers. They have got no measure at hand at all by which they can even approximately estimate the actual effective demand of consumers, or ascertain the producing capacity of their rivals. In other words, private 'enterprise' is a defiance of nature's law which decrees that the interests of society are *interdependent*. . . . Every manufacturer, every merchant, strives in every possible way — by glaring advertisements, by under selling others, by

giving long credits, by sending out an army of drummers—to beat his rivals. . . . All of them receive orders in greater number than they expected. These orders stimulate each one of the manufacturers to a more and more enlarged production, far ahead of the orders received; . . . this production of all these manufacturers is, and must necessarily be, absolutely *planless*; . . . must end in the market being at some time overstocked with commodities. . . . One branch of industry depends upon another. . . . The circle of depression thus grows larger from month to month; failure succeeds failure; the general consumption diminishes; all production and commerce is paralyzed. *We have got the crisis.*"¹

This seems to be a true explanation of the cause of commercial crises, set forth with clearness and simplicity. This cause is private enterprise operating on the three pillars of capitalism, — *capital, contract, and competition free and individual*. Private enterprise, with its rivalry, its secrecy, its ignorance of what others are doing, and its risks, is, therefore, responsible for the enormous waste of these crises. Instead of all this chaos in production, Socialism proposes concerted, organized action, that would enable the State to adapt the supply of commodities to the demand, as the agent of a single manufacturing establishment adapts the supplies of raw material to the number and capacity of his employees. Under Socialism, therefore, commercial crises would be impossible, and the great waste they entail upon society would be prevented.

7. Needless Loss from Fraudulent Adulterations and Imitations.

By this we intend the loss in both labor and material from adulterations, imitations, and other shams in the production of commodities. This species of fraud has become so common that the law is invoked for the protection of unsuspecting purchasers. In spite of all efforts, however, the evil, under the stimulus of private gain, continually increases.

Food adulteration is carried to an extent undreamed of

¹ "Modern Socialism," pp. 42, 43.

by most people. Before a legislative committee in a large city the dealers in lard testified, without exception, that they adulterated this staple commodity. The oleomargarine and butter contest is not on account of oleomargarine as such, but because it is colored, packed, sold, and consumed as butter. The United States consume 276,000,000 pounds of coffee annually. Experts estimate that from 96,000,000 to 120,000,000 pounds of this are bogus. We pay annually \$30,000,000 for roasted peas, beans, chiccory, and rye, masquerading under the name of coffee. A single company manufactures 10,000 pounds per week of this bogus stuff, at an enormous profit; the company recently refusing \$1,000,000 for their plant.¹ Aside from the consideration of fraud, we call attention to the fact that the labor of every employee in this establishment is utterly wasted, as are also the time of the proprietors, also the buildings, machinery, and circulating-capital invested.

The adulteration of drugs has increased to an alarming extent, and druggists tell us there is no way to prevent it.

In the matter of dry goods it is come to that pass where the one essential qualification of good shopping is the ability to detect fraud in fabrics.

The nasty decoctions swallowed as tea, sugar mixed with rock-dust, etc., are notorious. Indeed, "The representative of a leading spice-house lately said, 'We sell to the trade more adulterated goods than pure. We cannot help it. We simply sell the retailer what he wants. It would ruin the trade to prohibit adulteration.'"

It costs needless labor and material to make "warranted all-leather shoes out of imitation leather pasteboard."

We have merely sampled the commercial frauds of this character. It is to be borne in mind, that in all these cases the labor and material employed in the production of bogus goods are wasted. We have no means of estimating the aggregate amount; that it is enormous, no one will dispute; and that it is wholly caused by the desire for private gain, and an unscrupulous and wicked system, is equally clear. Socialism cuts the Gordian knot of this evil, by taking away

¹ "Public Opinion," Feb. 15, 1890.

all motive for fraudulent adulterations and imitations, and by making it not only for the public interest, but for the private interest, of every individual to produce only pure and genuine commodities.

8. Needless Litigation.

Capitalism is responsible for the large expenditure of time and money caused by litigation. Private contract not only gives rise to innumerable misunderstandings, but opens the door to every species of fraud and dishonesty. To remedy these evils, courts of justice, with all their expensive accompaniments, are established. There are in the United States 70,000 lawyers as against 7,000 in Germany, and 8,000 in France; ten times the number needed, and seven times as many in proportion to population as Germany, and five times as many as France contains.¹ In the city of New York alone there are 5,460 lawyers, and it is said 1,000 only are needed. The annual cost of maintaining the bench and bar in the United States, allowing for 3,000 judges, an average of \$5,000 each, and each lawyer \$2,500, is about \$190,000,000.

The Socialistic state might, indeed, require a minimum of outlay on this account; but capitalism, with its system of free contracts, necessitates this tremendous expenditure, nine-tenths of which, at least, is annually wasted. Add to this the cost of court-houses, furnishings, etc.; fees of subsidiary references and commissions; salaries of clerks, stenographers, officers; costs of writs, processes, fees, and all other incidental expenses, — and still you have only a part of the tremendous waste of litigation. The valuable time of jurors and witnesses is an important item. We have known twenty witnesses to hang around a court-house for a week waiting for a case to be reached in which only two or three hundred dollars were involved. Every one familiar with the trial of causes knows how vexatious is this loss of time on the part of witnesses. Lawsuits have become almost interminable. Everybody knows that ordinary cases, involving simple matters of justice, could be settled by a proper arrangement of society in

¹ "Public Opinion," Nov. 30, 1889.

from ten minutes to ten hours, whereas they are now frequently protracted through five or ten years. It shows what absurdities people will submit to, provided only they be done in due form of law.

All good citizens deplore the necessity of lawsuits. Their wastefulness is admitted, and many prefer to suffer loss and injustice than to engage in them. But they are a part of the capitalistic system; and society has become so accustomed to them that any proposal looking to their abolition is regarded as *contra naturam*, and its author as a hot-head or a blockhead. But it is neither chimerical nor unreasonable to advocate peace and fraternity among men, and to point out analogies between the home and the large family of the State. The spectacle of two members of the same family quarrelling over property is looked upon by all as disgraceful as well as wasteful. Is it any less disastrous to all the higher interests of society when two of its members declare war on account of filthy lucre, become public litigants, call into the arena a crowd of lawyers, officers, judges, and witnesses, employ experts to act as seconds and hold the sponge, while they proceed, according to the law in such cases made and provided, to pommel each other till the legal number of rounds has been completed and both parties retire from the struggle exhausted, imbibbered, and often impoverished?

This entire proceeding is justified in the name of *economy*.

We admit that it is inevitable under the present system; and it is for this reason, among others, that we object to the system, as essentially wasteful, as well as immoral and barbarous. Abolish private capital and this will disappear. Socialism aims to do this. It does not claim that, under its *régime*, all litigation will cease. Private property in many forms will continue to exist, and private interests of various kinds might conflict, which would require judiciary intervention; but a large per cent, probably not less than nine-tenths, of the present waste from litigation, would be saved.

9. Needless Police and Prisons.

It is conceded by the opponents of Socialism, that crimes

against property would, for the most part, cease when money, contracts, and private capital were done away with. The great bulk of crime at the present time can be traced directly to these institutions of capitalism. In order to prevent and suppress crime, a large body of criminal officers, numerous courts, and expensive prisons and reformatories are maintained at the public cost.

It is not easy to estimate the economic waste from this source, but we can approximate it. The annual prison population in our country is 350,000, although only one-fifth of this number is in confinement at any one time. The cost of each criminal for "sustenance, police surveillance, expenses of trial," etc., is \$1,800. This makes a grand total of \$126,000,000, which is only a part of the sum society annually loses through crime, principally caused by the present economic system. The waste from this cause is steadily increasing. This is a most important matter. In 1880 our country had only one criminal to every 855 of the population. In the same year Massachusetts had only one to every 487, while in 1886, only six years later, she had one to every 337 of the population. This increase of crime is far greater proportionately than the increase of population in the country. While the latter from 1850 to 1887 increased 99 per cent, criminals increased 320 per cent. Make due allowance for all extenuating circumstances, and still we have a condition of things that constitutes a most scathing indictment of the present social order. It is not for a moment to be claimed that Socialism would have no criminals or prisons; but it is safe to say that we could discharge nine-tenths of our police, abolish nine-tenths of our criminal courts, shut up nine-tenths of our prisons and reformatories, and put to useful labor nine-tenths of our prison population.

A moment's reflection will convince any one that this change would be not only a saving of one of the worst forms of economic waste, but an immense moral and social gain to society.

10. Needless Theft and Embezzlement.

There is one species of waste suggested by the one last named that might easily escape notice, because of the greater importance attached to it on account of its criminal character. This is the waste caused by theft and embezzlement. These are not only offences against divine and human law, but they are treason to the capitalistic system. No other crime, save murder, is so offensive to capitalism. "The costliest unclean beast that society can keep in its menagerie is an unpunished commercial rogue." That these crimes involve a vast economical waste cannot be doubted. It is said that the embezzlements in the United States during the year 1891 reached the enormous sum of \$19,720,294, which was more than double the amount of defalcations for the preceding year. Many cases are hushed up, so that this estimate must fall far short of the actual fact.

"If the actual total could be arrived at, the *Tribune* thinks it would rise as high as \$25,000,000, or an average of forty cents for every inhabitant of the United States lost, by men who abuse the trust reposed in them by others."¹ We must add to this vast sum all the moneys taken by other forms of theft, if we would get the total of all that was squandered and lost in this country during the year 1891. What does capitalism propose, to check "this great and growing national evil"? Absolutely nothing. How can it prevent this economic waste? It cannot prevent it. Is it no recommendation for Socialism, that by abolishing private capital it would at once and forever put an end to this form of wickedness and waste?

11. Needless Intemperance.

By needless, here, we intend the intemperance due directly to capitalism, or, in other words, to the stimulus given to the liquor traffic because *there is money in it*. This is a kind of business in which the supply, to a large extent, creates the demand. We have already discussed this subject (p. 254), and refer to it again merely to show the enormous waste it entails upon society. In the United States 800,000 persons are, in one way or another, engaged in the

¹ "Public Opinion," March 12, 1892.

liquor traffic, with a capital of \$1,000,000,000, of which \$132,051,260, according to the census of 1880, are invested in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. The annual liquor bill of the United States is \$900,000,000, which equals \$15.00 for every man, woman, and child in the country. In 1887 we consumed 71,064,733 gallons of distilled spirits, 717,748,854 gallons of malt liquors, and 32,618,290 gallons of wine; in all, 821,431,877 gallons, "which if poured together would fill a channel twenty feet in depth, twenty feet in width, and forty-six miles long." The economic waste occasioned by the liquor traffic is almost beyond calculation. We do not say that all alcoholic liquors are wasted. Those used for mechanical and medicinal purposes are not wasted, and possibly certain forms of alcoholic beverage may be said to yield an equivalent gain; neither do we say that Socialism would put an end to *all* waste from this source: what is maintained here is, that capitalism encourages men to engage in the liquor traffic for the sake of *private gain*; that it has now in the United States 3,000,000 men and dependants directly interested in and benefited by it; and that immense vested interests stand behind it, and successfully resist efforts to suppress it. Our insistence is, that Socialism, by removing all hope of private gain, would break the back of this leviathan; that out of the \$1,000,000,000 invested in the traffic, the 800,000 men engaged in it, the 850,000 drunkards, and the seven or eight million bushels of grain now consumed by it, Socialism would save enough annually to *feed every wage-worker and his family in the United States*.

We have not considered other forms of intemperance which Socialism would be in a position to check, if not abolish altogether. The opium habit is even more disastrous in its effects on both mind and body than alcohol; it is rapidly increasing in the United States, and so long as it is supplied by the irresistible incentive of private gain, the waste from the opium habit will be likely to increase.

12. Needless Change in Fashion.

The present economic constitution of society suffers no

inconsiderable loss from changing fashion. It is not that change in fashion in itself is necessarily objectionable, but the present *modus operandi* cannot be too severely condemned. It is capricious, irresponsible, extravagant, and wasteful, to a degree not dreamed of by the thoughtless. Articles of apparel purchased to-day must be made over or discarded before they are half worn out because "out of fashion." This is pure waste, and to estimate its sum total we have only to multiply the labor and loss of a single family by the total number of families in the country. Waste from change in fashion is as serious in production as in consumption. Professor Francis A. Walker says, "Seemingly petty changes in fashion will often produce wide-reaching effects in production. Mr. Malthus states that the substitution of shoe ribbons for buckles was a severe blow, long felt by Sheffield and Birmingham. 'On a smaller scale, and with less notoriety,' says a writer in the *Athenaeum*, 'the dismal tragedy of the cotton famine is enacted every year in one or another of our great cities. Every time fashion selects a new material for dress, . . . workmen are thrown out of employment.' Professor Rogers gives the following piquant illustration of the effect of changes in the mere fashion of dress: 'A year or two ago every woman who made any pretensions to dress according to the custom of the day, surrounded herself with a congeries of parallel steel hoops. It is said that fifty tons of crinoline wire were turned out weekly from the factories, chiefly in Yorkshire. The fashion has passed away, and the demand for the material and the labor has ceased. Thousands of persons once engaged in this production are now reduced to enforced idleness, or constrained to betake themselves to some other occupation. Again, a few years ago, women dressed themselves plentifully with ribbons. This fashion has also changed; where a hundred yards were sold, one is hardly produced now, and the looms of a multitude of silk-operatives are idle. To quote another instance. At the present time women are pleased to walk about bareheaded. The straw-plaiters of Bedfordshire, Bucks, Hertfordshire, and Essex are reduced suddenly from

a condition of tolerable prosperity to one of great poverty and distress.'"¹

But waste from this source is not confined to wearing-apparel. It extends to all the furnishings of a house which, although good as new, fashion requires to be replaced every few years; even the house itself soon gets to be out of style, and must be pulled down or remodelled. As already intimated, changes in fashion are not *per se* objectionable, but rather desirable. They give variety to life, furnish opportunities for the exercise of taste, and yield a certain pleasure which is innocent and even helpful; but any considerable waste in connection with such changes is illegitimate. It is, however, unavoidable under the present competitive system, which justifies the individual producer in enriching himself, however great the waste to others and to society at large, and which recognizes no law in the production of commodities but the whim of the individual. Socialism, on the other hand, by recognizing the solidarity of society, would proceed to cut off the greater part of this waste, through an industrial organization that would regulate both the time and quantity of the production of commodities, and would give due notice of changes in fashions, and thus save a large per cent of the time and labor now wasted on this account.

13. Needless Luxury.

Closely associated with the foregoing cause of waste is the expenditure caused by Luxury, which cannot be said to yield an equivalent gain. It may, indeed, yield a certain kind of pleasure; but it is a pleasure which, while it does no one any real good, is positively harmful to society.

It is difficult to define luxury except in the abstract, and especially because the word is not always used in a bad sense. The more general conception, however, regards luxury as an evil. In this sense it is any costly object of pleasure that is, on the whole, harmful to the individual and to society. Professor E. W. Bemis defines it as "Whatever contributes chiefly to enjoyment, rather than to the better training of our powers. Luxury is defensible only

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 178. Note.

in so far as it does not hinder the development of a better manhood in us, and in all those whom we could influence." The definition is worthy of more than a superficial reading. It condemns whatever ministers to pride and vanity; all those expenditures, whose name is legion, that gratify sensuality, and voluptuousness; objects and pursuits that weaken the muscles and demoralize the mind, but which capitalism and the prevailing Christianity may easily approve; and finally it condemns the entire lives of a large self-indulging, pleasure-seeking class, the product of capitalism, whose influence is to lower the standard of true manhood. This involves a vast economic waste.

The current political economy, however, is handicapped in attempting to treat of this species of waste, because of a false assumption concerning utility. A utility is something useful, and a thing is useful not merely because it is full of use, but because it is a *good*.

By a utility, therefore, must be understood *something good, and not something bad*. Economists, however, ignore this distinction; for example, the latest work on political economy, in accordance with the highest authorities, says, "Those quantities of utility which result from labor are called economic goods. . . . Everything which satisfies a human want we call a good."¹ Economically speaking, every luxury is a good, a utility, however mischievous in its nature, because it "satisfies a human want." This is true of many wicked things. Gambling-dens, liquor saloons, brothels, infernal machines for wholesale murder, and many other things which employ millions of money and men, "satisfy human wants;" but can good or *utility* be predicated of them on this account? So long as political economy continues to confound all distinction between products of labor that benefit and those that injure society, designating both alike as goods, utilities, so long must it observe a prudential reticence concerning the waste of luxury. The difficulty of drawing the line should not prevent any line being drawn. Many of the luxuries that satisfy human

¹ "Political Economy" (Ely), p. 144.

wants are not goods, but evils, not *utilities*, but *inutilities*; and as such they are wasteful. We have no means of computing the amount of this waste. The capitalistic system, by guaranteeing men the right to do wrong industrially, that is, to produce and traffic for the sake of gain, in ways that injure society; by piling up wealth in the hands of the few, which enables them to indulge in the most lavish expenditures for dress, furniture, equipage, etc., which requires the labors of vast numbers of producers, puts a premium on luxury and keeps a large number from useful production. On the other hand, Socialism, by a more equal distribution of the burdens and benefits of society resulting from the nationalization of capital, would cut up by the roots this source of waste. It would remove not only the means which make vulgar display possible, and minister to passions and tastes that foster caste, effeminate the mind, and render flabby moral and physical fibre, but it would remove the desire of luxury, by causing it to be regarded as a public enemy.

14. Needless Charity.

Public sentiment has within a few years undergone a marked change in regard to both public and private charities. Charity in the way of almsgiving is now discountenanced by all wise philanthropy, on the ground that it creates more distress and pauperism than it relieves. In other words, our charities to a large extent are an economic waste. A French epigram says, "Charity creates one-half the misery she relieves, but cannot relieve one-half the misery she creates." We have the following testimony from Dr. Washington Gladden, one of the ablest American Sociologists: "I have no hesitation in saying, that until within the last few years the Christian churches of this country, in the distribution of what they call their charities, have done more harm than good. They have found and relieved some cases of actual want, and it would have been a great pity if these cases had not been found and relieved; but in doing this they have bred paupers by the thousand; by their careless and unquestioning doles they have paved the way for whole families to enter the steep

and slimy paths of beggary."¹ In other words, these church charities, the vast total of which we have no means of estimating, have been worse than *wasted*. We believe the aggregate of strictly private charities far exceeds that of church charities.

The well-to-do and kindly disposed people in all our cities and large towns are continually distributing money and clothing, fuel, etc., to those who are morally and physically rendered more helpless thereby. The greatest waste, however, occurs in connection with public charities, which capitalism renders more and more necessary. Paupers are of different classes. Those mentally or physically incapable of self-support are liable under any industrial system to become a public charge. Socialism, however, by relieving humanity of the fearful nervous strain to which competition subjects it, would largely diminish the number of this class of paupers, consisting of the insane, imbecile, and crippled. It would certainly at once and forever relieve society of the burden of supporting the out-door able-bodied poor, and this item alone would save England \$20,000,000 per annum. Look at the famous Margaret Jukes's case, with reference to the economic waste of capitalistic, able-bodied pauperism. This woman was born in the State of New York more than a hundred years ago, and lived and died a vagabond and pauper. She had 709 descendants, of whom 280 were paupers, and received \$60,000 in relief; the unrecorded charities they received would greatly increase this sum, all of which was waste. There are Jukes in almost every city and town in the land. They are the product of capitalism.

In 1880 we had 67,067 paupers in our poor-houses and almshouses, and 92,000 in our insane-asylums. Add to this the pauper population in all other public and quasi-public charitable institutions in the United States, and we have a total of at least 200,000 supported by public charity. The testimony of experts shows that the principal causes that lead to pauperism are directly traceable to the social order; that is, to "environment," to which must be referred

¹ "Applied Christianity," p. 224.

over-crowding, looseness of the marriage relation, intemperance, etc.

Suppose that 100,000, or one-half the paupers in our poor-houses and asylums, are pauperized by the normal working of capitalism, and that the average cost of supporting each pauper is \$400 per annum, including superintendence, buildings, and all other expenses; this would make an annual expenditure of \$40,000,000. This is waste, pure and simple. An equal amount is probably worse than thrown away by church benevolences, private charities, and all sorts of indiscriminate giving to parasites and beggars. A grand total of \$80,000,000 annually, or \$255,591.05 for every secular day in the year, wasted in the name of charity! Modern organized charities are an immense gain; but the gain is moral rather than economic. Organization itself is expensive, and, in the matter of charity, may easily become as productive as it is curative of evils. The point to be emphasized is that capitalism tends to increase pauperism. It produces, also, magnificent charities, because they are needed, because humanity demands them, and because capitalism itself could not exist without them. The least that capitalism can do after lacerating and amputating the limbs of men, women, and children, is to furnish lint and salves in generous quantities. Christianity also requires such gifts. Men are generally disposed to mitigate evil effects to others when they themselves flourish by the cause. Only give a man the chance to play Dives over Lazarus, and he will cheerfully and plentifully throw crumbs to his victim. "A merciful man is merciful to his beast," even though his beast be a two-handed, rational, and God-imaged fellow-being. The difference between Capitalism and Socialism is, that the latter would stop the brutalizing process; stop lacerating and crippling men by pauperizing them, as the more economical as well as the more humane course. It is a painful and significant fact that the average citizen, and even Christian, is more interested in the *methods* of charity than in efforts to *render it unnecessary*; in *relieving* rather than in *preventing* pauperism. Such is the magic of capitalism, that men under

its spell are incapacitated for consistent and logical deductions. For example, the social causes of pauperism are rightly declared to be "illiteracy, intemperance, over-crowding, and the looseness of the marriage tie." But what is the cause of these causes? Capitalism. But capitalism is justified by those who condemn its legitimate fruits of illiteracy, etc., without a suspicion of inconsistency. It is like justifying a fever while condemning its symptoms. That the causes which produce pauperism have their source in the present social order, is admitted by nearly all sociologists.

Dr. Amory H. Bradford, in a thoughtful study on "The Problem of Pauperism,"¹ says pauperism has two causes, "Corrupt heredity and vicious environments." And he reduces heredity to environment as follows: "The correction for vicious heredity is change of environment, as the proper thing for a person by the seaboard with hereditary tendency to consumption is to go to Colorado or California."

In other words, the great cause of pauperism is *environment*, for which the social order is largely responsible. These secondary causes of pauperism, "illiteracy, intemperance, over-crowding, and looseness of the marriage tie," are important factors in the social environment of capitalism. "Illiteracy" in many quarters is on the increase. Capitalism makes it for the economic interest of employer and employee to place children who ought to be in school, at work, and to keep them there. Nobody will deny that "intemperance" is frightfully increased because there are fortunes in the traffic.

The third cause of pauperism, "over-crowding," is due mainly to capitalistic landlordism; and, finally, "the looseness of the marriage tie" is thus accounted for by a foremost American economist: "The causes for divorces have been shown by the National Department of Labor at Washington to be largely economic."²

While we do not overlook the individual causes of pauperism, we unhesitatingly affirm that the existing social

¹ "Andover Review," March, 1890, p. 261.

² "Political Economy" (Ely), p. 261.

order is largely responsible for them. These causes Socialism would seek to stamp out.

The whole genius of Socialism is opposed to "illiteracy, intemperance, over-crowding, and looseness of the marriage tie," the immediate social causes of pauperism which make louder and louder demands for both public and private charities, and thus entail upon society an enormous waste.

15. Needless Inefficiency of Labor from Ignorance.

Waste from the ignorance of the laborer is observable on every hand. The industrial efficiency of working men of different nationalities is in proportion to their knowledge. In his able and exhaustive study on "The Wages Question" (p. 65), Professor F. A. Walker says, "The general intelligence of the laborer is a factor of his industrial efficiency. This proposition is too well-established and too familiar to need extended illustration. The intelligent laborer is more useful, not merely because he knows how to apply his bodily force in his work with the greatest effect, but also because, —

"(a) He requires a shorter apprenticeship and less technical instruction. 'A recruit,' says Professor Rogers, 'who knows how to read and write can learn his drill in half the time in which a totally ignorant person can.'

"(b) He requires far less superintendence. Superintendence is always costly. . . .

"(c) He is far less wasteful of material. . . .

"(d) He can use delicate and intricate machinery. The cost of repairing and replacing this with ignorant labor very soon eats up the profits of production . . . 'Experienced mechanics assert that . . . there is probably as much sound, practical, labor-saving invention and machinery unused as there is used; and that it is unused solely in consequence of the ignorance and incompetency of the work-people.'"

If this is true, then millions of dollars are annually wasted which a higher and more general intelligence would save. It is precisely this advanced knowledge that Socialism everywhere and always demands.

16. Needless Inefficiency of Labor from Indifference.

Every employer of labor justly complains of needless loss from this cause. "The men take no interest in their work," is a remark everywhere heard. Why should they? In nine cases out of ten they would not receive a farthing more pay if they did. Why exert themselves for the benefit of employers? To give something for nothing is not a tenet of the present industrial system.

The waste from indifference and carelessness of employees cannot be easily estimated. It is probably far greater than that from ignorance.

N. P. Gilman in his exhaustive work on "Profit Sharing" (p. 422), gives the testimony of various employers on this point. "'Can the workman save twenty-five centimes in a day by avoiding waste of the materials intrusted to him, and by bestowing care on the preservation of the tools? All answer in the affirmative.' . . . The Messrs. Briggs calculated that if their miners were careful in getting out and sorting the coal, they would increase the net product at Whitwood by £3,000 every year. . . . The opportunity for savings in the iron industry was emphatically presented to the employees of the Springfield Foundry in the circular of 1888. 'Some men,' it says, 'have been careless, and made imperfect castings, fit only for scrap iron. . . . It may surprise you to know it, but it is nevertheless true, that our average loss per pound on bad castings (day work) is over *seven times* the average profit on good castings.'"

It is the same story in all industries. In cutting leather and in other processes performed in the shoe factory, it is estimated that the interested attention of the operative would save a sum equal to five per cent of his wages. It would save it, however, at present for the employer; and hence increased saving from the removal of indifference is absolutely hopeless under capitalism, as is evident also from the despairing tone with which economists and employers of labor speak of waste from this cause.

Now, if it be asked, How can Socialism prevent this waste? the reason is not far to seek. It substitutes *interest* for *indifference*, *attention* for *carelessness*, by actually increas-

ing the laborer's wages for the one, and as certainly decreasing them on account of the other. It is this principle that *wages are in proportion to personal interest* in work, that justifies profit-sharing, co-operation, and every other scheme whereby the laborer becomes a participator in the entire industry and its results. The basal principle of most of the half-way schemes for solving the labor problem is purely Socialistic. Their advocates may stop short of this goal, but the result is contained in the germinal principle of association, as the oak is contained in the acorn; and the agitation and expansion will go on till the dynamic evolution be complete. For this consummation we believe all the forces of nature and the supernatural stand pledged.

17. Needless Inefficiency of Labor from Want of Adaptation.

Working at the wrong employment is one of the most serious evils of capitalism. A large proportion of laborers now have really no choice as to their employment. They must take anything they can get in the way of work, whether suited or not to their capacity. Inefficiency and waste are the necessary consequences. The average boy of the wages-class, upon the completion of his school-days, looks about for employment. He would like to do that kind of work for which he feels himself adapted. Sometimes, indeed, he succeeds in getting work agreeable to his taste; but oftener he is disappointed, and, driven by necessity, he is glad to accept any employment that he can find. Thus he has no choice in the matter; and he has no sooner learned his trade than he puts forth this complaint: "I do not like my work; I have no taste for it. I wish I could get something else to do." His friends see that his talent lies in another direction; his employer esteems him lightly, and gives him minimum wages; but the die has been cast. Having embarked upon his life's work, having now, it may be, others dependent upon his daily labor, he cannot change his occupation, which would involve the learning of a new trade and the beginning of life over again; and so he toils on year after year, chafing under work which not he, but a vicious system, has chosen for

him. The economic waste resulting from such misdirected energies is incalculable. Friction is always wasteful. On the other hand, contentment and cheerfulness in the performance of labor are indispensable to a true economy.

The present system is open to the severest criticism in this respect. Thousands if not millions of men and women in this free country, whose chief corner-stone is the principle that the Almighty has endowed every man with the inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness, are rendered miserable by a social order that remorselessly drives them to tasks for which they have no taste or adaptation, but in which they are hopelessly doomed to toil till death releases them. Professor Walker justly characterizes such a condition as "slavery." "I say 'slavery,' for that labor is only truly free which is exercised as the result of a choice."¹ Society as now constituted furnishes no assistance to laborers in getting work for which they are adapted. It says, "Let every man look out for himself;" utterly ignoring the fact that multitudes, in a complex society, have not the ability to cope with the competitive industrial forces, so as to secure for themselves either suitable work, or a comfortable share of economic goods. To this capitalism replies, that "it always was so; the present order is according to the nature of things: while it seems a pity that any should be placed at a disadvantage, all remedies that can be proposed are worse than the evils to be cured." We cannot accept this view. A social order that, in its legitimate working, necessarily and permanently places some members of society at a disadvantage, is wrong. It is economic and moral infidelity. With reference to our present consideration it is not only wasteful, but wicked.

Socialism would remove both evils. It would aid all laborers needing assistance to secure the kind of work for which they were best adapted; just as the State now aids its children in securing an education. Different departments of knowledge or courses of study are laid out; competent agents, such as superintendents, teachers, and school-

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 127.

boards are appointed; to assist the pupil in making the best choice of studies and the wisest use of his powers, without any infringement whatever of his individual liberty. Precisely the same help could and should be rendered by the State to all members in choosing an occupation. How to do this? what particular methods should be adopted? are questions wholly subordinate. It is the principle, and not the ever-varying methods of its application, for which we are contending. We will anticipate the shallow criticism, that grown-up men and women will not submit to dictation as to the kind of work they shall perform, by saying that this is precisely the evil Socialism would remedy. Capitalism not only dictates the kind of work, but sets men at the wrong employment, and does it arbitrarily, and the laborer has no redress. Socialism would substitute for the arbitrary dictation of capitalism the friendly aid of the State of which the laborer is a member, and whose authority would be felt to be not dictation, but advice and assistance, such as is now rendered to pupils in the public schools. The utter helplessness of capitalism to remedy the evil or prevent the waste resulting from working at the wrong employment, is seen in the conflicting suggestions it offers working men. One says, "Every laborer should have more than one trade." Another says, "Labor has become so specialized that the laborer must learn to do one thing perfectly, or there is no hope for him." Again laborers are told to be "temperate, frugal, skilful, and they will succeed better than ever before." Another assures us that this intelligence and frugality are sure to increase desires, cultivate the taste, and develop the wants of laborers, which they have no means of gratifying; and it is notorious that our labor troubles all spring from the best-paid and most intelligent classes; that about twenty per cent of wage-workers who are the most skilful feel most oppressed by capitalism, and are at the bottom of all labor disturbance. Thus capitalism flounders around in attempting to defend itself against Socialism.

It is a proverb, that a jack-at-all-trades is master of none. Let a young man attempt to learn a half-dozen trades,

and he is handicapped for life ; let him become master of one, and get "big wages," and he becomes keenly alive to the fact that the present social order is an unfair arrangement. He demands democracy, not only in politics, but in industry.

18. Needless Banking.

Few people are aware of the extent of the banking-business of the country. The aggregate of capital and labor required to carry it on is not easily ascertained. The total amount of reserve funds or idle money which the law requires our national banks to keep is about \$200,000,000. This vast sum is locked up and of no use to anybody. But this is not all: the real and personal property, exclusive of the idle money required for conducting banking-operations, is an important factor in estimating the total capital of the banking-system. The total cost of the system must include also the salaries of all persons in any way employed in the business, and all other current expenses. All annual expenses and taxes of the average bank in the city of Springfield, Mass., are approximately estimated at \$19,000. "The expense to the government on account of the department of Comptroller of the Currency for the year ending June 30, 1889, was in round numbers \$159,000."

The annual report of the comptroller (October, 1889) shows that the total number of national banks was 3,290. Suppose the average annual expense of conducting these banks is \$8,000, the total would amount to \$26,320,000. If we add to these sums the capital invested in all private banking-operations, we have a total of between three and four hundred million dollars employed in banking.

Now, under capitalism, banking is an indispensable condition of carrying on the business of the country. Our banks are at once a convenience and security, without which business in many directions would be paralyzed. It is equally clear, however, that Socialism would have no need of banks. It would save these millions to society. That it would be in itself an immense economic advantage to the country to liberate millions of capital and thousands of men from confinement in bank vaults and behind bank bars, and convert them into producers, will hardly be denied.

19. Needless Insurance.

The institution of Insurance is a legitimate offspring of capitalism. It is a necessary evil. The insured pay, on the average, more than they receive, by as much as it costs to maintain the institution and give the companies their profits. This bonus is an immense sum. The loss, however, is gladly borne by the insured. It is forced upon them by the cruel necessities of capitalism, which says to the citizen, "Give to the insurance companies annually large sums of money, or confront financial ruin, social disgrace, and perhaps physical suffering." A man will cheerfully submit to the plucking out of an eye to save his life. But what of the system that renders the plucking out necessary? Let us not be misunderstood: we are not objecting to insurance as things now are; on the contrary, we advise all to fly to it as they would fly to a nauseating antidote to save themselves from the effects of poison.

The institution of insurance is, *per se*, uneconomical, because the maintenance of a vast capital and an army of men who are not only non-producers, but consumers of economic goods, is to the last degree wasteful.

Insurance opens the door to some of the most aggravated forms of fraud and wickedness. Fires are set and property wilfully destroyed, to obtain the insurance. The total losses from fires in the United States for 1891 amounted to \$125,000,000. Insurance companies say that about one-third of the loss is caused by fraudulent fires; of the other two-thirds, "the greater part can be safely ascribed to careless and flimsy buildings." This is due to the competitive system. Of the \$125,000,000 paid in losses, it is estimated that this system caused at least \$100,000,000.¹

If we add the losses from fires on uninsured buildings, we have a grand total of probably not less than \$150,000,000 needlessly destroyed in the year 1891. The greater part of this vast sum would be saved under Socialism.

There is another indictment against this institution of a still more serious character. Thousands have been mur-

¹ "The New Nation," Dec. 26, 1891.

dered, and the death of thousands more is at this moment secretly longed for, on account of the benefit from insurance which would accrue to the survivors. The Superintendent of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in New York affirms that the lives of 100,000 children under seven years of age in New York have been insured by parents or guardians, and "that three-fourths of the cases of inhuman treatment of children brought to the notice of the society are children so insured, where death would bring money to those having them in charge."¹

This form of insurance is still more extensive in Great Britain, where there are 600,000 children said to be insured. Agents go about the country receiving thirty per cent of the premiums paid. The Bishop of Peterboro succeeded in having a Committee of Parliament appointed in 1890 to investigate this matter. The bishop pointed out that "even if only one in a thousand of these children met with death in this way, that would mean that 600 children would each year be murdered." If, however, insurance be considered in its relation to the capitalistic system, its advantages are at once apparent. Its element of chance can easily take on the respectable character of a legitimate business risk. It can easily be viewed as a wise provision against misfortune, which, instead of falling wholly upon one, is distributed among many, and, as Professor Ely happily says, "It is a fine example of solidarity of the right sort." It is this sort of solidarity that Socialism would apply throughout the entire range of economic society.

Our present concern with insurance, however, is on account of the vast economic waste it entails upon society. To estimate this waste we must take into account all life, fire, marine, and accident insurance companies. Society loses what it costs to maintain these companies, also their profits, besides all the items of time, trouble, and expense, to which policy-holders are subject, and the expense of arbitration and litigation growing out of the insurance business, in addition to the enormous waste from fraudulent fires and deaths. No statistics furnish the means of es-

¹ "The Congregationalist," March 6, 1890.

timating these sums. The census of the United States (1880) shows that the authorized capital of all our fire and marine insurance companies, in the year 1879, was \$144,939,200, while their total available assets were \$892,271,556, and the current expenses \$27,976,531. The authorized capital of all life insurance companies for the same year was \$15,770,000; ledger assets \$419,868,467, and current expenses \$13,280,434.17. We do not include in expenses payments to policy-holders. Society does not lose the capital stock of insurance companies, but it does lose the use of this capital, or the profits of the business, which in 1879 amounted to \$9,341,001 in fire and marine companies alone. It loses also all current expenses necessary to carry on the business, the total of which in 1879 was \$41,256,965.17. Thus, exclusive of the profits of life companies, we have, taking the year 1879 as a basis, a grand total of \$50,597,966.17 expended in a single year to maintain this excrescence of capitalism. It is believed that the figures for 1891 would swell this vast sum by one-third. This treasure is wasted: instead of being employed productively, it is required to maintain men and capital in a business which in no way contributes to the productive powers of society. What could exceed the reckless wastefulness of paying a salary of \$100,000 to an insurance president? Such a salary a president in New York admitted he received.

Insurance is a constant tax on productive energy, and a business which, under a healthier form of social organization, would be wholly unnecessary. Socialism is such a form. In the first place, when all the people of the State were members of a common industrial household, the death of one member would not leave others destitute, or compromise their social position, hence there would be no need of life insurance. Again, State ownership of all capital would put an end to private insurance companies. The State, were it deemed wise, could easily secure its members against the loss of such private property as might still exist. Such property would always represent the industry and thrift of the owner, and the State might well put a

premium on these virtues, by replacing it if lost. At any rate, it is certain that under Socialism society would be relieved from the costly and burdensome institution of insurance.

20. Needless Strikes and Lockouts.

We cannot even approximate the waste from Strikes and Lockouts. Professor Walker, in showing the loss of time from irregularity in employment, calls attention to the strike of the London builders in 1859; it continued twenty-six weeks, and, had it been successful, would have required *ten and two-fifths years' continuous work* at the extra rate to make up the loss of wages. In the strike of the weavers of Colne, it would have required twenty-eight years' continuous labor to make up the wages lost.¹ Although the amount of loss is not computed here, it was enormous.

Strikes and Lockouts in Massachusetts during the years 1881-1886 cost the workmen \$5,152,799 and the employers \$2,521,556. For the same period the total loss to employees in the United States was \$64,403,035 and to employers \$34,163,814.² We have not the statistics for the years since 1886, but if the loss was at the same rate we should have a total loss to industry of \$197,133,698 in a little more than one decade from this cause. The loss since 1886 has probably been much greater, since the number of strikes increased rapidly during each of the years 1881-1886. There were in 1886 in Illinois four times as many as in 1881, more than twenty times as many in Massachusetts, twice as many in Pennsylvania, and in the whole country about three times as many. Taking the probable increase into consideration, we believe the loss from strikes and lockouts in the foregoing period was not less than \$400,000,000. According to Bradstreet's record, the larger strikes in the United States *that failed* in 1887 caused a total loss of \$10,530,000 in wages alone. The total loss from all strikes during the same time was over \$15,000,000, or 10,000,000 days' time, by 350,000 men. The aver-

¹ "The Wages Question," p. 31.

² "19th Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor."

age loss to each workman was one month's wages. This by no means represents the total loss and waste from this cause. In nearly all strikes there is a loss, not only to the individuals and industries immediately concerned, but to society in general. So interdependent are social interests and classes, that when one suffers, the whole suffer. A strike or lockout in a particular industry may paralyze the entire business of the community. Its effects are far-reaching and often disastrous. These facts and figures reveal a situation the gravity of which will impress even the careless. That this economic waste springs directly from the capitalistic system and is wholly needless, no one will deny. Neither can it be denied that, under Socialism, it could not possibly take place.

We might mention other sources of economic waste due to the mischievous working of the capitalistic system. We have called attention to such only as Socialism, from its very constitution, would remedy. The aggregate of waste during the last decade in the United States would support handsomely every man, woman, and child in the country during the remainder of their lives. What now has capitalism to say in the presence of this appalling wastefulness? It is the result of industrial anarchy, of individualism, for which Socialism is the only remedy. We have characterized these twenty sources of waste as *needless*. They are not such, however, under capitalism. On the other hand, they are necessary. They are indigenous to capitalism; they spring out of it, as a toadstool springs out of a compost heap; they are just as necessary, therefore, as rash to scarlet-fever, or disinfectants in contagious diseases. Neither do we say that nothing can or ought to be done under capitalism to lessen the waste or mitigate its evil effects. Let us by all means employ all economic and social disinfectants at our command; but it would be far more sensible to strike at the cause of the disease, to adopt as rapidly as possible sanitary measures for the prevention of the evil, — and this is the worthy aim of Socialism.

CHAPTER VII

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM CONSIDERED

I. — *As to the Charge of Atheism.*

"The belief in God is the bond and cement of all human society, and the support of justice." — PLUTARCH.

"It must be fairly stated, that their opposition to religion has no *logical connection* with their socialistic views." — PROFESSOR R. T. ELY.

It is charged that Socialism is atheistic and materialistic. It is not strange that such a charge has been made; it would be strange, however, if any well-informed writer should hereafter make it.

The Socialism of to-day is thoroughly Christian. Certain leaders of the earlier French and German Socialism fiercely attacked nearly all social institutions, including the church, and startled society by their blasphemous utterances. To-day the real leaders of Socialism are reverent, thoughtful, and Christian men and women, among whom are many moral and religious teachers. Socialism has come out from Communism and all other fanatical and Utopian schemes for reforming society. It takes its stand squarely and simply upon the eternal principles of right reason, social justice, and neighborly love. It is the product not of atheistic agitators, but of social and industrial evolution. It has reached that stage of development where it commands the attention of all thoughtful men.

It is fast being recognized as a new political economy, founded upon the highest type of ethics and the soundest social philosophy. No social movement, not even Christianity itself, ever spread with such rapidity among the masses, or in the same period gathered to itself so many wise and good men, throughout the civilized world. Is it reasonable to suppose such a movement to be inspired by

atheism? Why, then, the charge? There are two reasons: one is because the irreligion of certain earlier Socialists was hastily inferred to be inherent in the system; the other is because capitalistic writers found that, in the absence of valid argument, they could discredit Socialism by the charge of atheism.

We concede, however, the eminently scientific spirit and method of certain Socialists who have weighted the cause with materialistic views.

Marx would abolish religion. He says, "The critique of religion ends with the doctrine that man is the highest being for men; and thus with the categorical imperative of overthrowing all relations in which man is a degraded, enslaved, forsaken, contemptible being; relations which one cannot better describe than by the exclamation of a Frenchman, on occasion of a projected dog-tax, 'Poor dogs! They are going to treat you like men.'"¹ The significance of this commiseration may be seen in the fact that dogs actually received better treatment than human beings. To harness women with dogs for carting produce, as is daily done in Paris, is to honor dogs above men. In Berlin the law allows the dog to draw no more than seven kilos, or about sixteen pounds, but puts no limit upon the load a woman may pull.

The irreligion of certain Socialistic leaders has naturally lead to the impression that Socialism is atheistic, or at least has allied itself with the grossest materialism, and is necessarily the enemy of religion.

Without entering into an extended refutation of this charge, we will submit several reasons that show conclusively its falsity.

1. The tap-root of Socialism on its economic side is its principle as to industrial methods. It advocates the principle of *association*, rather than that of individualism, in industry; and this principle, *per se*, has no more to do with atheism or materialism than the multiplication-table.

2. The social consequences that necessarily follow the adoption of this first principle, some of which we have con-

¹ As quoted in "Communism and Socialism" (Woolsey), p. 247.

sidered in the last chapter, are not only not atheistic, but in the highest degree Christian.

3. No one of the five postulates of Socialism considered in chapter iii. furnishes the slightest ground for this charge. A whole is equal to all its parts.

4. The principles of justice, equality, and fraternity among all men, which Socialism always emphasizes, and on which it builds, are the most glorious fruits of a theistic and spiritual religion.

5. Some of the closest students of Socialism, who are its ablest opponents, candidly admit that atheism and the material philosophy are not inherent in, but accidental to, Socialism. Laveleye says, "It is impossible to understand by what strange blindness Socialists adopt Darwinian theories, which condemn their claims of equality, while at the same time they reject Christianity, *whence those claims have issued and where their justification may be found.*" The italics are ours.

Dr. Woolsey, an opponent of Socialism, explains this mystery. He tells us that before Socialism was thought of, France and Germany had lost their faith in Christianity: philosophers, scholars, and leaders of thought generally, had rejected the supernatural, and not only Socialism, but every other ism, would be treated from a materialistic standpoint. "A large part of the thinkers of France, and nearly all of those who leaned toward communism, had discarded Christianity; but, far worse than this, the great mass of the workmen in Paris and other towns of France were leavened with unbelief in God and Christ."¹

In answer to the question, "Has it (Socialism) made the working men atheists; or were they atheists already?" he says, "The old German faith had begun to give way within the church or churches themselves some time before socialistic principles were thought of. . . . The free thinking which showed itself so mighty a destructive agent in France, spread in Germany. . . . Philosophy, in the shape given to it by Hegel, became pantheistic, and when it went down among the people atheistic. To this source the

¹ "Communism and Socialism," pp. 244, 245.

departure of the nation from the faith of the Scriptures must be ascribed.

So, then, the working class was not so much to blame for their atheism as were those who had the intelligence of the country in their possession." ¹ Is this not really conclusive of this charge?

It appears that it is not Socialism, but the *capitalistic system*, with its intelligent leaders, that naturally brings forth atheism and materialism.

6. It is conceded that Socialism would abolish outright many of the evils condemned by the Scriptures, and which the gospel of Christ, handicapped as it is by the existing economy, is seeking to overcome.

This is not only not atheism, but Christianity.

7. Socialism being the application to industry of those rules of human conduct laid down by Jesus Christ, namely, the Golden Rule, love, fraternity, unselfishness, it is the most humane and most just, the most divine and beautiful system ever devised by the human mind and presented to mankind for their adoption.

8. The early French Socialists paid special honor to Christ. Professor R. T. Ely says of these reformers of 1850, "At that time if any one had visited the assembly rooms of a communistic or Socialistic society in Paris, he would in all probability have found there a picture of Christ with these words written under it, 'Jesus of Nazareth, the first representative of the people.'" ²

9. Among the leaders of this movement to-day are ministers of religion, philanthropists, political economists, public teachers, and writers, who think independently, and have no interest to serve but the truth.

Opponents of Socialism can hardly resist the temptation to prejudice the cause in the minds of the people by associating it with irreligion. Even Dr. Woolsey, forced to concede that faith had given way "before Socialistic principles were thought of," proceeds to indulge in a series of *a priori*

¹ "Communism and Socialism," p. 240.

² "French and German Socialism," p. 146.

speculations, tending to show that the Socialistic state might not be favorable to religion.

Next to the patience of God must be ranked the patience and long-suffering of the toiling masses with a church founded by Jesus Christ and perpetuated by those professing to be his disciples, but allied with wealth and caste, and upholding a social organization that oppresses and degrades them, and makes the brotherhood taught by Christ a farce.

We are not so foolish as to expect that this charge of atheism will be at once withdrawn. Newspapers and magazines must continue to supply what their readers demand.

Some preachers as yet know little of Socialism, and they are not only uninformed but human. It is just as easy now for a minister to preach himself out of his pulpit as it was in the days of Jonathan Edwards.

The commercial law of supply and demand obtains too largely between pulpit and pew, although exceptional ability will, of course, admit of exceptional boldness. If the real causes of irreligion among German working men and Socialists have been such as Dr. Woolsey points out, there is no foundation for the implication contained in such paragraphs as the following:—

"The International Society proclaims itself atheist. A procession of twenty thousand Socialists, singing ribald songs, passed lately into a cemetery in Berlin through gates on which were inscribed the words: 'There is no hereafter.'" ¹ What of the fact that probably many times as many *individualists* in Berlin believe the same doctrine? The infidelity of these Socialists was not due to their Socialism. Thomas Paine and other Revolutionary patriots were infidels, but this was not due to democracy. Our republic was born on an ebbing tide of religion; loyalty to liberty and treason to Christianity went hand in hand. Infidelity was cultured and fashionable. When Timothy Dwight entered upon the presidency of Yale College in 1795, "a considerable portion of the class which he first taught had assumed the names of the prin-

¹ "Labor" (Cook), p. 12.

cial English and French infidels, and were more familiarly known by them than by their own." Socialism is no more responsible for the unbelief of this procession of German Socialists than the love of liberty is for the unbelief of a much larger procession of American patriots.

When an esoteric and plutocratic faith or a speculative philosophy of religion has blotted out the belief in a hereafter, or has emphasized the blessedness of heaven, as compensating for the wretchedness of earth, and made such blessedness hereafter an excuse for a capitalistic system that dooms the great body of working men to a hopeless purgatory here, it is hardly consistent to characterize their struggle for industrial freedom and justice as an infidel and atheistic movement. The simple truth is, that Socialists in their philippics against the church have only been demanding a return to the principles of the gospel.

One point is worthy of emphasis in connection with this charge of atheism. It is the demand of socialism for cessation of work on the Sabbath. Sabbath desecration now menaces our civilization. Private enterprise is directly responsible for it. To make money the Sunday trains are run and the Sunday passenger travels; to make money the Sunday paper is issued; to make money nearly all Sunday work is done; and so demoralized is the public conscience, that almost every kind of business can take refuge on Sunday under the ægis of necessity and charity. Under Socialism there will be no money to make, and no private interest to serve; hence no temptation from this source to desecrate the Sabbath. It certainly looks as though the charge of atheism was more applicable to individualism than to Socialism.

II. — *As to the Charge of Anarchism.*

"Socialists and Anarchists, as such, are enemies. They pursue contrary aims, and the success of the former will forever destroy the fanatical hopes of the latter." — *Committee of the Socialistic Labor Party.*

It is objected to Socialism that it is Anarchistic. With many people the very word Socialism suggests dynamite

and assassination. This is owing to three causes. First, certain forms of Socialism in Europe were formerly associated with methods of violence; second, Socialistic writers often employ such stinging language to express their indignation at social wrongs as to suggest violence, although advocates of peaceful methods. Third, the enemies of Socialism lose no opportunity to take advantage of this misconception to intensify popular prejudice.

"Alton Locke" represents English workmen as resorting to violence. Chartism was anarchism. Was it Socialism? If so, it has been forgiven. It may be that every great Social reform has its revolutionary stage. Such was the case with Christianity, the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the establishment of constitutional liberty everywhere. If there was ever any sympathy between Socialism and anarchism, it was because they had a common enemy.

Socialism, however, did not long mistake its mission or its methods. When his Lord was attacked, Peter drew his sword, but sheathed it again at the bidding of the Master. Socialism, in obedience to the same spirit, lays aside all methods of violence, and draws its weapons of warfare from the arsenal of justice, truth, and love.

Herein it differs from anarchism. Socialism is unselfish; anarchism is essentially selfish. It differs from both anarchism and communism as follows:—

Communism means every one according to his need.

Anarchism means every one according to his greed.

Socialism means every one according to his deed.

This is not an adequate statement of Socialism, but it is sufficient to distinguish it from communism and anarchism. Socialism would render deeds both possible and necessary to all, and it would make deeds more equal. Socialism, like the sacred Scriptures, judges man according to "deeds." It allows him to eat according to his labor, and is no respecter of persons, but says to all men, "Go work in my vineyard." Anarchism is destructive. Socialism is

constructive. The former would lay society in ruins; the latter would regenerate and thus save it.

A single statement will suffice to show conclusively that Socialism and anarchism are at the antipodes of each other. Anarchism wants *no government*, while Socialism makes *the most of government*.

Anarchism says, —

“The very best government of all
Is that which governs not at all.”

Anarchism and *individualism* or capitalism are one. With anarchism, *laissez-faire* (capitalism), regards the State as a necessary evil.

Laissez-faire with anarchism says, “I want no State interference in industry. Let every man do as he pleases. Away with all government in matters of property and competition.” Socialism, on the other hand, regards the State as the highest good, and abhors anarchism or individualism. A pamphlet published by the National Executive Committee of the Socialistic Labor Party is entitled, “Socialism and Anarchism — Antagonistic Opposites.” The writer says, —

“Socialists and anarchists, as such, are enemies. They pursue contrary aims, and the success of the former will forever destroy the fanatical hopes of the latter.”¹

Herr Bebel, in a speech advocating the Socialist Bill in the German Reichstag, Jan. 25, 1890, declared that the disappearance of anarchism from Germany was due to the efforts of the Socialistic party.

The significant fact came to light, also, that the friends of capitalism, and even the government, had interested themselves in supporting anarchist movements, and for the sole purpose of confounding its acts and declarations with Socialism, in order thereby to discredit the latter.

The position of German Socialism, in its opposition to anarchism, is heartily indorsed by American Socialists. At a meeting of Socialists held in Chicago, Jan. 26, 1890, the resolutions concluded as follows: “We hereby empha-

¹ Quoted in “The Labor Movement in America” (Ely), p. 228.

size the necessity of Socialists in the United States giving heed to this declaration of the policy and principles of German Socialism, that in this country dynamite agitation has no justification whatever, and its advocates should be recognized and treated as agents of despots, and not as reformers; and the antagonism between Socialism and their reactionary agitation be kept as well-defined and aggressive as in Germany."

One of the first votes of the International Socialist Congress held at Brussels, Aug. 16, 1891, containing delegates from every civilized country in the world, save Russia and Portugal, was, *to expel anarchists*. This is the final voice of all Socialists in the world. We submit to the candid reader that this charge of anarchism is utterly groundless.

III. — *As to Equality.*

"Men are born unequal. It is the great benefit of society to diminish this inequality as much as possible, by granting to all security, a competency, education, and help." — JOUBERT.

Socialism is charged with advocating equality. An eminent writer asks, "What will life amount to when men are reduced to a dead level?"

Enter into conversation upon the subject of Socialism with the average man, and he will say, "It is useless to try and make all men equal; you cannot do it."

There is a vagueness about this charge against Socialism, arising from the fact that equality is an uncertain term. In the first place, no one desires to reduce men "to a dead level." There is no such thing as a "dead level;" equality in any such sense is absurd. Does it follow that millionnaires and paupers are the only alternative?

Socialism recognizes *natural inequalities* among men, and, wherever these work social injustice, proposes to counteract their mischievous effects.

There are natural inequalities that are harmless and even helpful in society: they might more properly be called differences, since the word equality has become closely associated with rights. Capitalism not only aggravates

the ills arising from *natural* inequalities, but creates *artificial* ones, and so makes a bad matter worse. Socialism resents the imputation that it seeks an equality that would reduce all men to a physical, mental, and moral sameness. It does, however, demand that kind and degree of equality which God and humanity require, but which capitalism denies. It is generally conceded that in some respects all men are equal. They "are born free and equal," whatever that may mean. They have equal rights; they are equally entitled to the protection of law, and, in a democracy, are equal in respect to political and religious privilege. These equalities are not, indeed, fully realized, owing to disturbing factors; but they are at least theoretical, and there is a constant hope and promise that they will be made actual. Socialism unhesitatingly demands theocratic equality.

The idea of equality finds something responsive in every human breast. It is the countersign of the nineteenth century. Equality is blazoned on the banner of every reform. It has wrought wonders in modern history. It has tempered laws, founded States, planted the common school, and regenerated the church. The sentiment is not the monopoly of any class or sect. Capitalists and employers everywhere encourage employees to rise to equal positions; pupils are urged to equal attainments with the teachers; the rich often honestly wish the poor were as rich as themselves; individualists as well as Socialists deplore certain unhappy inequalities in society. The principal difference between these latter is that Socialists would take the steps necessary to remove these inequalities, while individualists are not ready for measures that involve changes so radical. It is the *system* that needs to be reformed.

The present system of economic individualism declares that all men have, socially and individually, an *equality of chances*; and this, it is claimed, is all to which they are justly entitled. The poor and the ignorant may have an equal chance with the rich and wise. Equality of *rights*, without regard to equality of *condition*, is all that men may ask. We claim that this principle in the evolution of

society has become intolerable. History and experience show that the mere equality of chances results in the crushing of the unfortunate multitude by the powerful few.

Individualists assume that the Christian precept, "Bear ye one another's burdens," is merely a charitable sentiment, and should not be recognized by the State; but that the State should recognize and enforce the opposite principle of selfishness, by which the way is cleared for the strong to prey upon the weak, under the guaranty of legal protection.

This barbarous principle is incorporated into the organic law of society, and openly justified. An eminent divine writes thus: "The utmost that an enlightened philanthropy, giving direction to public justice, can safely do, is to clear away the obstacles in a man's path, and to protect him against interference with his natural rights."¹ This reduced to practical terms, in the struggle for life, means that if twenty-four hungry persons, twelve of whom are small and weak, and twelve large and strong, are obliged to run a race for bread, "public justice" can only clear the way, and see that each lets the other alone, while it allows the strong, who are sure to win, to get and keep all the bread, and the weak to take the consequences of their weakness, which is starvation. We protest against any theory of "public justice," or natural rights, which yields conclusions so undivine and inhuman.

So long as men are unequally endowed, mentally, morally, and physically, the mere equality of chances must result, in a highly organized society, in injustice and cruelty.

This doctrine of equality of chances is the Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence, with the survival of the fittest, applied to human beings. Socialism, grounding itself upon the principle that no man liveth to himself, would adopt a system that would restrain selfishness and greed on the one hand, and assist the weak on the other; and thus make possible such an equality as both religion and humanity demand.

Socialism demands no other equality. If at any time it

¹ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 124.

has seemed to place undue emphasis on equality, it is because of the cruel inequality caused by capitalism. Why, then, this charge? Chiefly because it is intended to convey the idea that Socialism demands an equal division of all existing property. The pulpit, the press, and platform, all give currency to this gross misrepresentation. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Professor R. T. Ely, a most competent critic of Socialism, says no Socialist "advocates, or even desires, an equal division of productive property. What they wish is a concentration of all the means of production in the property of the people as a whole, and the distribution of the income, that is, of the products only, either equally or unequally, according to the views entertained of what is just and expedient."¹

A hundred years ago Babœuf and other leaders of French communism made "equality" the watchword of their party. Their motto was expressed in these words, "The aim of society is the happiness of all, and happiness consists in equality."² There is a deep truth in this declaration; but there is not a scintilla of truth in the popular inference that has been drawn from it; namely, that its authors would bring about this equality by the distribution of all existing goods and money equally among all members of society. The present competitive system which has wrought these inequalities would do it again within twenty-four hours. "This," says Professor Ely, "is so perfectly obvious, that no communist of note has ever proposed anything so childish and absurd."³

Francis Grönlund, a professed Socialist, quotes Professor Fawcett of England as seriously saying, "If the State divided all lands among the inhabitants, there would gradually arise the same inequality of wealth which exists now;" and then adds, "that now-a-days no one outside of a lunatic asylum proposes any such thing, and that Professor Fawcett ought to know it."⁴ Not a trace of such

¹ "The Labor Movement in America," p. 211.

² "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 34.

³ *Idem*, p. 35.

⁴ "The Co-operative Commonwealth," p. 107.

an idea can be found in the writings of Marx or Lassalle, and no Socialistic, or even communistic platform ever proposed such a measure. The extent to which this misconception of Socialism has spread, even among the most cultured, is well illustrated by this vehement passage from Mr. Joseph Cook: "Rather than give property Monday morning into the control of men who before Saturday night will have produced inequality again by their own spendthrift character, we will see to it that in this country sterner regulations are made than now exist to repress heresies and demagogues under universal suffrage." (Applause.)¹

At a recent commencement at Smith College, the orator of the day repeated, as an argument against Socialism, the stale incident of one of the Rothschilds offering a laborer, complaining of the inequality of society, a small sum as his share of the banker's wealth. The applause which followed revealed the depth of prejudice and the density of ignorance which still exist among the most intelligent and even learned classes respecting this subject.

The principles of Socialism, however, have only to be understood to be accepted by candid and disinterested minds; and they are now commanding attention and gaining acceptance at a rapid rate. Men who opposed them yesterday are thoughtful to-day, and will be ashamed to-morrow. The truth will be triumphant. This vulgar notion that Socialism would divide all existing wealth equally among the members of society, will soon be repeated with applause for the last time.

IV. — *As to the Abolition of Capital.*

"Socialists make no war on capital, strictly speaking. No one but a fool would do such a thing. What Socialists object to is not capital, but the private capitalist." — PROFESSOR R. T. ELY.

The conflict between labor and capital has led the popular mind to regard Socialism as the enemy of capital.

The destruction of property from time to time by enraged working men and strikers, and the declaration of Socialists

¹ "Socialism," p. 83.

that private property is theft, have tended to confirm the popular opinion.

We need not be detained but a moment in correcting this false impression. Socialism would abolish not capital, but private capitalists. They have the highest regard for capital, as an essential help in production.

Proudhon exclaimed, "Property is the suicide of society!" but the least acquaintance with his system shows that he means *private capital*. He declares, in so many words, that "all property becomes . . . collective." Professor Ely in his *résumé* of the teachings of Rodbertus says, he "waged no crusade against land or capital. No one was ever so great a fool as to do that. Every social Democrat, even, admits the necessity of . . . capital. . . . There is the same difference between capital and capitalist as there is between labor and slave. Once he who waged war on slavery was looked upon as a man who was trying to abolish labor.

"In the future Rodbertus thinks we will separate in the same manner capital and capitalist, and abolish the capitalist class as we have already abolished the slave-holding class. This does not at all imply equality. Great differences could still exist, but they would be based on merit."¹

Marx, a Socialist, and the profoundest thinker and political economist the century has produced, levelled his remorseless logic, not against capital, but against capitalists who employed the means of production as the instrument "of exploiting and ruling the laborer."

The State, in the view of Socialists, should be sole capitalist and producer, owning and managing all manufactories, railroads, etc. So far from abolishing capital, it is confidently asserted that under the new *régime* the aggregate of capital would be largely increased, since production would be greatly stimulated from the vastly increased number of laborers and demand for commodities which would at once spring up from the improved condition of the people.

We are now prepared to judge correctly, statements of

¹ "French and German Socialism," p. 168.

which the following is representative: "If there were no capitalists, there would be no factories, mills, railroads, machinery, or wages. How can capital be our enemy, when its absence from society would throw us back into a state of barbarism? Without it we would not travel by rail or by sea, or have anything to wear, except what we made with our own hands. Its enterprise enlarges the field of operation, increases the demand for labor, and enhances its market value."¹ This is heartily approved by a leading religious newspaper, and is probably indorsed by nine out of every ten readers. It bristles with error and misrepresentation. It is not true that "there would be no factories," etc., under State ownership, that is, without private "capitalists." It is misleading to use "capitalists" and "capital" as equivalent terms. The question, "How can capital be our enemy?" implies that somebody claims that it is; whereas no Socialist, no organization of laborers, no body of men, or writer of intelligence or influence, denies, or even questions, the importance of capital in industry.

By such misrepresentation and balderdash it is sought to prejudice the people against the new social movement, and to strengthen the foundations of the present system. Such criticisms, so obviously unjust, will defeat their own object. They really help what they oppose, because fair-minded men will befriend with greater zeal the cause they have condemned because of misrepresentation and deception, when once the falsehood is unmasked.

V. — *As to the Confiscation of Property.*

"They (Socialists) are also ready to admit, that . . . they (capitalists) ought to be fairly compensated." — MR. LAWRENCE GRÖNLUND.

This charge against Socialism is made by Mr. Joseph Cook in the following language:—

"Socialism and Communism have said over and over at

¹ "Natural Law in the Business World" (Mr. Henry Wood).

the mouth of Proudhon, at the lips of Lassalle, and by the pen of Karl Marx, that property in land is robbery. Marx elaborately defended the deeds of the Parisian Commune. Over and over the ringleaders among Socialists have indicated their willingness, if they only had the power, to confiscate, in whole or in part, property in land, and in all the means of production." (Applause.)¹

This utterance produces a wrong impression. We have shown conclusively (chap. iii. sect. 11), that Proudhon, Lassalle, and Marx did not intend by "theft" and "robbery" the literal criminal acts denoted by these terms, and which alone give lawful owners an immediate right to the possession of stolen property. The eminent critic would not for a moment claim this. There is certainly no hint here of confiscation.

Where does Mr. Cook find evidence of their "willingness" to confiscate property? In the voluminous writings of Marx, in the eloquent and fervid speeches of Lassalle, or in the stinging words of Proudhon, we find nothing to warrant this implication. Proudhon advocated the progressive abolition of private property by the reduction of rent, interest, etc. Lassalle said, "The transformation of society will be the work of centuries." Marx, in the preface to his great work, "Capital," says the capitalist is the "creature" of "social conditions," and cannot free himself from them.

Rodbertus thought it would require five centuries to work the needed reform. Babœuf, fifty years. Marx says, "The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." It does not follow that this is to be done by confiscation. There is no need of confiscation for the transmutation of private into collective capital. It could be accomplished so gradually and with such methods of compensation as to work no injustice or inconvenience.

Socialists desire this. Will our critic, or any who prefer this unjust charge against Socialism, name a single standard Socialistic writer who advocates confiscation? Lawrence

¹ "Socialism," p. 83.

Grönlund, speaking for all Socialists, says of those who give up their possessions, "They ought to be *fairly* compensated."¹ Edward Bellamy, *facile primus* of American Socialists (nationalists), would indignantly repudiate the idea of confiscation.

No judgment of Socialists is fair or final which regards only the fanatical utterances of unprincipled agitators. Such, however, must be the "ringleaders" to whom Mr. Cook refers. A careful examination of representative Socialistic platforms, with one or two exceptions, shows an utter absence of any reference to the confiscation of property. The permanent statutes of the International Workingmen's Association, adopted in London in 1864, declares that Socialists "recognize truth, right, and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellowmen, without respect to color, creed, or nationality."² This sounds more like the gospel of love than the confiscation of property.

The Social Democrats of Germany, at their Congress in 1880, expelled Most for his extreme anarchistic views. It is anarchy, not Socialism, that would lay unjust and violent hands on property.

A single group of English Socialists may be said to have sanctioned confiscation. The "Democratic Federation," formed in 1881, of which Mr. Hyndman was a leading member, says, in a "Summary of the Principles of Socialism," "But is this confiscation? Far from it; it is restitution. Those who cry for compensation for past robbery, and shriek confiscation because the right to rob in future is challenged, should bear in mind that the men and women whom we would compensate are those who are now stumbling, half-clothed and half-fed, from a pauper cradle to a pauper grave, in order that capitalists and landlords may live in luxury and excess. The dead have passed beyond compensation: it will be well if the living do not call for vengeance on their behalf. Our first principle as Socialists is that all should be well fed, well housed, well educated.

¹ "Modern Socialism," p. 125.

² As quoted in "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 184.

For this object we urge forward the revolution which our enemies hysterically shriek at, and frantically try to dam back."¹ This declaration was never representative; the "Democratic Federation" itself had only bitter denunciations for other classes of Socialists. Nothing could be more unfair than to charge confiscation upon Socialism on account of such sporadic utterances. Mr. Henry George has, indeed, laid himself open to this charge, but he is not a Socialist. Socialism does not indorse even the qualified confiscation which he advocates, and which would apply to land, but not to other kinds of property. He says, "Let the land-owners retain their improvements and personal property in secure possession."²

Socialists, however, do not agree with Mr. George in proposing that the State should take land from its owners without compensation. The owners have acquired title under the sanction and laws of society. The fruit of a lifetime of toil may be put by purchase into a piece of land: to take this land without compensation under ordinary circumstances would be both needless and unjust. There are circumstances, however, when all would admit that appropriation by the State might be both necessary and just: we say appropriation, for confiscation implies punishment, and spoliation is robbery.

When does such an exigency arise? When may the State take private property without compensating the owners? There can be but one answer, namely, when the public good requires.

The right of the State to do this has always been conceded and exercised. This sovereign power may not be exercised capriciously or lawlessly, otherwise it could not be justified.

In a discriminating analysis and defence of private capital, a writer speaks thus, "What if it" [the State] "should leave every owner in possession of his land, and by taxing that land up to its full rental value, take all the value out of it, would it be robbery? No: it would be the quin-

¹ As quoted in "Socialism of To-day" (Laveleye), p. 318.

² "Progress and Poverty," p. 330.

tessence of robbery ; the act of the highwayman, who should demand your money, take it from your purse, and complaisantly present to you the purse as the sole thing to which you have a right, would be in comparison a mild offence." ¹

This language is none too strong to characterize the act of the State in wantonly taking private property. It seems, however, to need qualification, so as to recognize the right of the State to take private property if the public good or the safety of the State requires it ; but such qualification seems to be excluded by the sweeping statement made on the preceding page, that "the State must in any case preserve all value created by personal sacrifice." Surely the State may, at the sacrifice of all values, preserve its life ; and if it may preserve its life, it may maintain its health. The State is sovereign. It may and does tax land a tenth of its rental value. This is not robbery. Would it be robbery to tax it a fifth of its rental value, should the public good require it ? No. Would it be wrong to tax it any fractional part of its rental value ? No. Then it would not be wrong to tax it "up to its full rental value," if the public good required. Indeed, the State may, if need be, take not only the owner's rent, but his land, all other property, and even life itself, without compensation. It may command him to bare his bosom to the sword of the enemy and die, as it has so often done, for the public weal, and no one charges the State with murder. Why, then, charge it with robbery for taking land or other private property for the same reason ? Is property so much more sacred than life ? Yes ; let us be honest : money under the present economy has become more sacred than life. Ruskin says, "I will tell you, good reader, what would have seemed Utopian on the side of evil instead of good : That ever men should have come to value their money so much more than their lives ; that if you call upon them to become soldiers, and take chance of a bullet through their heart, and of wife and children being left desolate, for their pride's sake they will do it gayly ; but if you ask them for their country's sake to spend a hun-

¹ "Capital and Its Earnings" (Clark), p. 68.

dred pounds, without security of getting back a hundred and five, they will laugh in your face." Soldiers in this connection are not an exceptional class. It is monetary not military glory that is god over all. Such is the idolatry of mammon, that men constantly hazard life, and yield it up, rather than give up their idol.

Not a day passes that does not chronicle voluntary death preferred to the loss of possessions. This is the natural outcome of an economy that makes wealth rather than man the centre of its system, and that relegates the divine declaration, "All that a man hath will he give for his life," to the region of sentiment. Over against this deification of wealth Socialism places humanity. It exalts man rather than money, and life for all rather than luxury for the few. It believes, on historical and ethical grounds, that a State founded on other principles contains the germs of social disease which, as they ripen, will rot the whole social structure.

While holding that political science and common-sense give the State the right to take private property without compensation, when necessary for the public good, Socialists do not believe that things have come, or will be allowed to come, to that pass when the right must be exercised.

They believe that private capital may become public so gradually, with so little friction, that vested interests will realize no interference, and that capitalists as well as laborers will rejoice in the change.

VI. — *As to Marriage and the Home.*

"The causes for divorces have been shown by the National Department of Labor at Washington to be largely economic." — PROFESSOR R. T. ELY.

It is objected to the Socialistic state, that it would endanger the institutions of marriage and the home; that if capital becomes common, that is, owned by the State, wives will become common, and children will belong to the State; or, if this extreme is not reached, marriage will be held

less sacred, children will be less under the influence of parents, and loose relations between the sexes, with all their deplorable consequences, will follow. Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey speaks as follows, "The crime of unchastity would, one may fairly suppose, be peculiarly prevalent under Socialistic institutions; for, as we have seen, the abolition of inheritance must deduct something from the importance attached to the family, and the low materialistic views with which Socialism starts must deduct something more; nor can one discern anything in its institutions which is fitted to counteract these unhappy tendencies. Divorce, too, it is probable, would be granted on insufficient grounds, and marriage become an affair of convenience."¹ These words are deliberate and fairly representative of those individualists who oppose this objection to Socialism.

Let us see if this charge is sustained by facts. It is admitted that certain phases of *communal* life in the past have impaired the domestic relations. Some naïvely argue from the communistic society to the Socialistic state. This is unfair. Dr. Woolsey says, "It can readily be seen that the former must put the family in the background, while the other *need* not have this effect; . . . since the communities here [in Socialism] are for industrial purposes only, and nothing more than assemblages of working men, each for the most part having his own home there. Thus the privacies of the family, its separate loves and enjoyments and secrets, may there flourish, if no other causes beside the nature of the State prevent."²

Men who know how to weigh evidence will appreciate this admission of a distinguished opponent.

Socialism, moreover, is not to be judged by the flippant and disgusting utterances of fanatical orators. Capitalistic writers never tire of rehearsing the declaration of Hasenclever, in an assembly at Berlin, that under Socialism "the bond between the sexes will be simply a moral one; and then such a bond, if the characters did not harmonize, could be dissolved."

¹ "Communism and Socialism," p. 263.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255.

Another orator, Jörissen, declared that, "a maiden who disposed freely of her love was no prostitute — she was the free wife of the future. In the State of the future only love should direct the unions of the sexes. Between the married wife and the so-called prostitute there was only a quantitative difference. The children would necessarily belong to the State, and the State provide for both."¹

These utterances, however, are not representative; they were not approved by the assembly to which they were addressed, and they are indignantly repudiated by the vast majority of Socialists. Dr. Woolsey, after quoting them, says, "It is not quite fair to argue from the expressions of unprincipled leaders of the Socialistic parties in Germany, what will be the feelings and the conduct of the rank and file when they get into the promised land."²

No one charges capitalism with invading the home and encouraging impurity, because certain individualists champion the cause of those who seek to send obscene literature through the mails. It is equally unfair to charge Socialism with impairing the domestic relations because of the loose views of unprincipled Socialists.

If, then, no argument can be drawn, either from the nature of the Socialistic state, or "the expressions of unprincipled leaders" in support of this objection, on what ground does it continue to be urged? We answer, for reasons purely speculative. The able critic just quoted has no real foundation for inferences so positive and important; he only fears that certain tendencies may be harmful, or that this or that may happen.

One may, he says, "fairly suppose," certain evils might result. It does sound strange to hear this master of dialectics arguing in the following manner: Socialism will abolish inheritance and start with materialistic views; therefore, "unchastity" would be "prevalent," and "divorce be . . . granted on insufficient grounds."

What links the conclusion with the premise? Is the

¹ As quoted in "Communism and Socialism" (Woolsey), p. 258.

² *Ibid.*

connection so obvious and necessary as to warrant conclusions so unqualified and of such tremendous import ?

The evils of unchastity and divorce would doubtless exist under Socialism. They have grown to frightful proportions under individualism. "The causes for divorce have been shown by the National Department of Labor at Washington to be largely economic."¹ It is officially shown that divorces have increased in the United States within the last twenty years more than twice as fast as the population. 400,000 divorces within this period is a startling record. It ill becomes individualism, with its 40,000 harlots in the city of New York, to charge unchastity upon Socialism. Materialism, which is also declared to be the cause of these evils, has had its rise and development under capitalism; but we have seen that Socialism, both in its theory and working, is through and through Christian; and whatever may be said of past leaders, those who are flocking to its standard to-day are inspired by the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and the gospel of unselfishness. A State that enthrones these principles in the organic law of society will be as likely to restrain vice as one which enthrones and inculcates the pagan and diabolical doctrine of self-interest.

The effect of the abolition of inheritance upon the family is a most important consideration; but would it, as Dr. Woolsey says, "deduct something from the importance attached to the family"? Yes, from some families; the ones of which he is thinking; but by as much as it would deduct from the few families, might it not add to the many?

Do we forget that under capitalism the vast majority of families in every land have no part or lot in inheritance? Inheritance is the vehicle in which family pride is transmitted and social caste perpetuated.

The notion that private property is necessary to family life is nothing new or unnatural. It is the old heathen and feudalistic idea, born of the spirit of caste, and nourished by family pride. Exclusiveness and Mammon are

¹ "Political Economy" (Ely), p. 261.

twin demons. Brotherhood as it is in the New Testament can have no fellowship with them.

The same author says, "The prospect that a life of work would at its end leave a family helpless would tend, by a sort of law of society, to make marriage less desirable than it is now, and less sacred."¹

If this rule works both ways, then the more certain a man is that his family will not be left helpless, the more desirable is marriage.

Now what are the facts? Exactly the opposite from what is assumed. Under Socialism no *family can be left helpless*. In consideration for "a life of work," the State guarantees the necessary support of a man's family. This Dr. Woolsey admits in these words, "It is not, indeed, likely that the State would neglect the care of its helpless ones."

Thus he shows that Socialism, by caring for the helpless, would render marriage *more* desirable and sacred, and then infers directly the contrary!

A cause is seriously discounted when this learned and sagacious writer falls into inconsistency in advocating it.

The ability of the State to thus care for the helpless cannot be questioned when all the able-bodied work, as God and nature designed. Supplies for convenience and comfort will be so abundant, that children, the sick and aged, and all excusable non-workers, will be amply and tenderly provided for by the State; not on the workhouse plan, but according to the dictates of sympathy and kindness which prevail in the family, which are demanded by humanity, and which are commanded both by the letter and the spirit of the gospel of Christ.

This argument against Socialism, that marriage would be undesirable, from inability to provide for a family, is remarkable. It is precisely the argument, and one of the strongest ones, that is urged against the *present* order. In every community there is an increasing number of young people who refuse to marry because mammon will not preside at the nuptials and become the household god.

¹ "Communism and Socialism" (Woolsey), p. 255.

Marriage is often a pecuniary if not a social come-down, and there are fewer and fewer unmarried persons who feel able to maintain their standard of living and support a family.

The capitalist critic who offers this argument, the inability to support a family, — one of the most cruel features of individualism, against Socialism which guarantees such support, — confesses that he is out of ammunition.

It is the capitalistic system that now leaves the great majority of families helpless, and it is to remedy just this disastrous state of things that furnishes the ground and hope of Socialism.

Inheritance is a *sine qua non* of society as now constituted. Capital, contract, and competition, individual and free, all centre in one fundamental principle, namely, let each individual get and keep every possible advantage over his fellows. Under such a *régime*, inheritance is prime minister.

Dr. Woolsey says, "Whatever motives, therefore, drawn from the hope of leaving an inheritance to a wife and children, act upon men in society as it now is, to promote thrift and heighten family affections, nearly all these will be lost when society shall suffer the changes which the Socialists threaten."¹ That such salutary motives operate "in society as it now is," is an important fact. Socialism, however, does not propose to leave "*society as it now is.*" The abolition of inheritance under the present system, should it remain otherwise intact, might work the evils complained of; but it is *unwarrantably assumed* that the same evils would also exist under Socialism, wherein the *conditions are entirely changed*.

Inheritance, however, even now, does not always "promote thrift and heighten family affections." There is a darker side to this institution. Unthrift is frequently its offspring. By enabling many to live in idleness and luxury, it cuts the nerve of all healthy endeavor and aspiration. It causes children to be reared without learning the lesson of sacrifice and discipline, and causes young men to take "the portion of goods that falleth" to them and

¹ "Communism and Socialism" (Woolsey), p. 255.

become prodigals, wasting their substance with riotous living. It renders its possessors incompetent and shiftless; it nourishes pride, vanity, and caste; it breeds a class of worthless pleasure-seeking *dilettanti*; it continually ruins, or renders unworthy and thriftless, multitudes who would otherwise have been self-reliant, self-sustaining, useful members of society. Inheritance, as our author says, does promote thrift; but where it promotes thrift in one, it renders a hundred others unthrifty, wasteful, and weak.

Our author says, again, that inheritance "heightens family affections." It does, but it also blights them; and this is the most damaging charge against the institution. Everywhere families are quarrelling over wills. The inscription over the door of our probate courts is not "family affection," but "family feuds."

There is no more pitiful and shameful spectacle than to see kindred fighting over the property of their beloved dead.

What is it that enters into a family circle where all is love, gentleness, and peace, and begets suspicion, jealousy, and alienation? Inheritance. What is it that converts brothers and sisters into bitter and life-long enemies? Inheritance. What drags the family into courts of justice, and lays bare to the public eye and ear the family secrets and all the privacy of the home? Inheritance. What causes the enormous waste in litigation, frequently consuming the entire estate in the contesting of a will? Inheritance. Why are aged parents neglected and desired to die? Inheritance. Why is the maker of a last will and testament congratulated on account of his clear mind and sound judgment, and then as soon as he is dead declared by the same parties to have been demented? Inheritance. Why are unsuspecting testators murdered? Inheritance. It is inheritance that begets the lust of money and stirs the bad blood in human nature. "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not; ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain."¹ Inheritance "heightens family affection"!

¹ James iv. 1, 2

To what height does it lead this "affection"? It takes it to the point where the Devil took Jesus, even to the pinnacle of the temple, but only to let it fall a greater distance, that it may be dashed in pieces. The evils of inheritance, of which the *destruction* of "family affection" is not the least, have become so numerous and aggravated, that the words, "This is the heir; come let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance," are no longer a parable, but a daily fact in this capitalistic world.

It will strike the candid reader as at least singular that this defender of capitalism should have seen in the institution of inheritance only an unqualified good; that he should have entirely ignored tendencies notoriously evil, and which were plainly pertinent to the subject in hand.

It is proper now to observe that certain forms of inheritance need not be abolished under Socialism. There is a kind of inheritance that, like mercy, is "twice blessed; it blesses him that gives and him that takes." It pertains to household belongings, heirlooms, etc. It carries with it genuine family affection: it preserves the memory of ancestors; and this, if they were good and noble, is the richest legacy children can inherit. Socialism would encourage this kind of inheritance. We need to bear in mind continually the distinction between the terms *property* and *capital*. In the Socialistic state family *property* will be just as sacred as at present; but family *capital* will not exist. A family, however, may have continued possession of a house, own all its furnishings and all the means essential to family enjoyment and life.

The great majority of families to-day in every land own no capital, but the family life is as intact and the marriage relation as sacred as among the capitalistic class. Nay, it is more sacred. The proportion of divorces for "cause" is much greater among the well-to-do than among the poorer classes; indeed, among the Irish population, who have the least capital, the marriage relation, and to their praise be it said, is held the most inviolable. Socialism is the principle of associated capital expanded so as to embrace all parties interested. This principle is now

asserting itself as never before, in the formation of great stock companies, trusts, and other forms of combination. Do we discover any logical connection between the association of capital and community of wives or looser relation between the sexes? It is in order for those who entertain this view to show that the families of the stockholders of great corporations are specially demoralized.

The people, in their associated capacity as the State, now control many social and economic interests, without a hint from any quarter that our homes are being endangered, or the relation of the sexes being disturbed thereby. And yet it is confidently asserted that we have only to extend the principle of industrial association till all the people get the benefit of it; that is, till we reach the co-operative commonwealth, to find the lid of this ill-omened Pandora's box flying open and the dreadful contents let loose to prey upon society.

Why, it may be asked, is this objection urged against Socialism, if it cannot be drawn either from the nature of the Socialistic state or the utterance of irresponsible leaders? The answer is not difficult. It is not alone that private property mobilizes for its defence the strongest desires and intensest passions of the human breast, which lead men to seize upon any and every argument, however sophistical, that can be urged to excite popular prejudice against any system that attacks it; nor is it alone the fact that the reputation and power of those who seek to defend the present system depend upon their loyalty to it; but it is due largely to the fact that many writers have supposed that a real analogy existed between certain ancient and mediæval schemes for the improvement of society, and modern Socialism.

Plato, in his "Republic," advocates both community of property and wives. Thomas Campanilla, in the "City of the Sun," published in 1623, sets forth an ideal social state in which private property is abolished, and, as a consequence, the family; for since no man can own a house, he cannot maintain a wife and children. He says, "The spirit of property increases among us only because we

have each a house, a wife, and children of our own. Thence comes selfishness; for in order to raise a son to honors and riches, and to make him heir of a great fortune, we dilapidate the public treasure, if we can control others by our wealth and power; or, if we are feeble, poor, and of an obscure family, we become avaricious, perfidious hypocrites.”¹

The “City of the Sun,” buried in oblivion for centuries, seems to have been resurrected for the sole purpose of discrediting, by its offensive doctrine respecting marriage, the idea of the co-operative commonwealth.

Such are the nauseating fossils raked up from pagan rubbish and mediæval refuse, and paraded before the public to give them an idea of what Socialism really is from a historical, and hence, presumably, correct point of view! Opponents of Socialism understand full well the advantage secured if they can ally Socialism with those forces that endanger the home.

Home is a precious word. It is the foundation of whatever is pure, beautiful, and enduring in human society. Wise and good men are just now sensitive on the subject of the home, since some nefarious influence, whether the insidious spirit of individualism or not, is at work invading its sanctity, demoralizing and separating husbands and wives and children.

Any movement that threatens the home is doomed beforehand. It is not strange, therefore, that opponents of Socialism should avail themselves of this argument, if it has a shadow of plausibility. It is, however, as we have already intimated, *an argumentum ad populum*.

The author of “The Co-operative Commonwealth” is sharply criticised by a writer for the looseness and flippancy of his views of marriage and the home.

A careful perusal of all that Mr. Grönlund says on this subject will lead many to feel that, so far from impairing the domestic relations, he champions the cause of woman and the home in a way to cause even the brazen cheeks of capitalism to blush with shame. He says, “Socialists are

As quoted in “Communism and Socialism” (Woolsey), pp. 93, 94.

charged ignorantly or insidiously with attempting to destroy the family. Why! *we want to enable every man and woman to form a happy family!*"¹ He would have women paid at the same rate with men for equal work. He deplors the savage competition to which women are subject, and which keeps them underpaid and overworked. He demands that women shall be employed only at work suitable to their sex and strength; that they should not be compelled to stand on their feet from morning till night; that the difference between the sexes in temperament, taste, muscle, and other physiological respects should be recognized in "special vocations of the sexes;" that women shall have "economic equality;" that is, be economically free, and not in bondage, as is now too often the case; that no woman should be forced for the sake of support to marry the man she did not love, as is now often and notoriously the case; that she should "have fuller opportunities than she ever yet has had of developing her specific gifts of womanhood."

As to public occupations under Socialism he says, "Nothing will prevent the daughters from remaining at home, assisting their mothers or caring for their fathers, and nothing will compel married women to neglect their domestic affairs. It simply means that every woman will be enabled to earn her own living, honorably and pleasantly, *whenever she chooses to do so*; and this power is essential to the dignity of woman, whether married or single."

He advocates, in accordance with the soundest principles of private morality and social order, "early and universal marriages," and quotes approvingly John S. Mill's statement that "The family . . . should be the school of sympathy, tenderness, and loving forgetfulness of self," instead of "a school of wilfulness and overbearingness and unbounded self-indulgence on the part of its chief because, in the eye of the law, the wife is nothing but the husband's property."

He deprecates the necessity "of married women to earn their own living," and rightly claims that, in this

¹ "Modern Socialism," p. 208.

respect, the capitalistic era is destroying family life. He denies that Socialism will favor divorce, although it will facilitate it where there is mutual dislike between husband and wife, and "their union is an unmitigated evil to both, and not the least to their children, if they have any;" and finally he would mercifully apply the principle of co-operation, so as to relieve women of the drudgery in housekeeping, but without "sacrificing one jot of privacy or real home life," and this in order to give them "*leisure*, the prerequisite for all development, all education."¹ Such is the exalted view of woman, and of the necessity and sacredness of the home, that is characterized by the author of "Socialism and Christianity" as "nauseating reading, from the heartless flippancy and cheap sprightliness with which the domestic problem is discussed, and from the apparent absence of all suspicion that here is an ethical element in the marriage contract."²

Mr. Grönlund does not pretend to treat marriage directly from its ethical or religious side, but merely as it will be affected "by refashioning economic relations."

His indignation at the present degradation of woman and the home, wrought, as he thinks, by the capitalistic system, leads him to characterize too severely, if that is possible, the "dainty lady" who had married a rich man, not for love, but for his money; that is, had sold herself to him, "sweeping by a fallen sister, as if fearing that the hem of her garment might be touched and defiled." He is clearly in error in supposing that the only difference between these women is one of degree. Neither is it necessary to agree with him that Socialism would or ought to facilitate divorce, even when the "union is an unmitigated evil" to both husband and wife. He may also be justly open to criticism in other particulars; but how a writer so candid and discriminating as the author of "Socialism and Christianity" can see only defects, and nothing of merit, in these exalted views of woman and the family, inspired as they manifestly are by an earnest and honest desire to im-

¹ "Modern Socialism," p. 208.

² "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 279.

prove their material and moral condition, can characterize the "entire chapter" as "nauseating reading" is difficult to understand.

Even Christian ministers will not be able to see any good thing come out of Socialism so long as they look at it only through capitalistic glasses. No matter how keen the vision, prejudice will obscure the truth as effectually as snuffers extinguish the candle.

How, for example, can our distinguished critic justify the following remark? "The plan of massing the children in great structures, under public care, is one against which the objections are many and unanswerable."¹ Is it intended to strike a blow at our public school system? This is precisely what this system now does. Is it rather intended to represent Socialism as proposing to commit children *wholly* to the care of the public? No living Socialist desires to do any such thing: why, then, the remark? Why follow it up by showing how "mortality would be enormously increased," "affections would be blighted," etc.? Will it not be time enough to attribute these direful evils to Socialism when Socialists advocate any measure which necessitates them, or when these dreadful fruits cease to grow so luxuriously on the existing tree of individualism? Constructive Socialism, if it ever laid itself open to such criticism, has a right to demand judgment on what it *is* rather than on what it *was*. It protests against the practice of seizing upon the chimerical statements of extremists, made while it was in the throes of birth, or yet in its swaddling clothes, but which have been outgrown and rejected by the scientific development and formulation of its principles, and parading them before the inquiring public as the Socialism that now pleads for recognition.

We confess our inability to reconcile this charge preferred against Socialism by this critic, namely, that it tends to destroy the family, with precisely the same charge which he makes against the present social *régime*. "It is not so much Socialism that has created a revolt against the Christian doctrine of marriage, as it is the prevalence of low

¹ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 282.

views of wedded life and the facility of divorce that have produced Socialistic theories of the relation between the sexes. The philosophy of domestic life, like that of industrialism, has been practically atheistic. . . . The secularism of modern industrialism has invaded the domain of home, and its treatment of the latter has been as atheistic as that of the former.”¹ Socialism, after all, is not a *cause* but a *result* of “low views of wedded life”! It is not *Socialism* but *capitalism*, “modern industrialism,” that walks hand in hand with an atheistic “philosophy of domestic life.”

It is inconsistent to say that “modern industrialism” has produced low views of marriage, and then assume that Socialism, a system directly the opposite, would do the same thing.

But this concession accords with the claim of Socialists and with the truth. It is the capitalistic system that menaces the home, — earth’s purest and grandest institution.

We heartily indorse all that our critic so admirably says as to the social position and importance of the home.

It is said that the family, rather than the individual, is the *unit* of society. What is understood by this expression? The family is not the unit of society in any such sense as to reduce the increasing millions of men, women, and children without homes to zero; nor in any such sense as to cause the entire household of the next Achan convicted of theft to be stoned along with the thief; nor in any such sense as to ignore the civil rights of individual members of a family.

The family is indeed a divine institution; so, also, is every individual, however poor, weak, ignorant, or helpless, a divine institution.

The family cannot be the unit of society, if we use words in their ordinary acceptation. A unit is a “*single thing or person*,” a single person is not a family, therefore the family is not the unit of society.

This is not quibbling. A unit is one; a family consists of more than one. If the family is the unit of society,

¹ “Socialism and Christianity” (Behrends), pp. 274, 275.

what are the 60,000 unmarried women and the 50,000 unmarried men in the State of Massachusetts? They would each resent being called less than one, and none of them claim to be more. Great Britain contains 900,000 more women than men; Germany 1,000,000 more; Sweden and Norway 250,000 more; Austria 60,000. In the United States, Canada, and Australia there are, on the other hand, 1,000,000 more men than women. These figures represent only a part of the people in these several countries who are independent of the family relation. Is society to make abstraction of them on this account? The unit of society is not the family, but the individual who is the integral part of the society. Municipal law also regards the individual as complete in himself, and even makes married people separately and individually amenable to law. In the same way the laws of God deal with the individual, rather than the family, as the unit of society. Human and divine laws regulate domestic relations, if people choose to enter into them; but these regulations do not supersede the laws which relate to individuals as social units. Neither jurisprudence nor social science regards the family as the unit of society; the idea has no support from Christian Scriptures. These authorities emphasize the sacredness of marriage and the family, but they nowhere hint that the family, rather than the individual, is the unit of society.

Nothing so seriously hinders progress in social science as cant. It appears upon the threshold of every reform, and with regal authority commands progress to halt in the high and mighty name of custom, law, and religion. Truth, however, is potential, and is ever breaking through the social forms in which it temporarily crystallizes. Truth alone is catholic, consistent, and permanent. No fact is rightly held when it is found to conflict with other established truths, whether in the same or another science or system. To hold that the family is the unit of society is to deny the universally recognized relations of the individual as the social unit. Socialism does not exalt the individual or the State above the family in such manner as to impair the value or sacredness of the family, which is essential to the

highest and most Christian form of society. On the contrary, it would vastly increase the number and happiness of homes, and secure the better training of children. It would increase, rather than diminish, the sense of parental responsibility. Parents knowing that the position of their children depended entirely on merit, rather than money, would take care to give them the best possible training. This is only natural. When social and political preferment is based on character, the home and society itself will wear a brighter and more hopeful aspect than at present.

It is, as our critic admits, "modern industrialism" that invades the sanctity of the home and causes domestic unity to depart. Competition compels women and children to become practically homeless in the struggle for bread. Marriage is contract, and under freedom of contract it tends to become nothing else. But it is of the very essence of contract, that it may be avoided when both parties agree thereto.

The spirit of mercantilism has polluted the stream of love and virtue till the most sacred human relation is often made a matter of commerce.

Welcome Socialism or any other system that will tend to remove the domestic cancer that threatens the home, and with it our religion and civilization.

This objection against Socialism is seen to have no foundation, either in the principles or the philosophy of Socialism, or in the nature of the Socialistic state. The ablest and most comprehensive critiques of Socialism by Laveleye and Rae give no hint of it in their table of contents. It is a far-fetched, unnecessary deduction, based on social schemes of former philosophies, the materialism and free-love views begotten of capitalism, the coarse utterances of unprincipled leaders respecting marriage, and the traditional belief, doubtless true, that an aristocracy of birth, or family distinction, can only be maintained by private wealth.

The objection rests on purely *a priori* speculations, and the reasons put forth to sustain it are not axiomatic, but inferential. The Socialism of to-day wears an aspect wholly different from that of the Socialism of ten or even five

years ago. It is no longer merely political, but ethical; it is more gentle, philanthropic, and Christian, and as such is drawing multitudes to its standard.

VII. — *As to the Equal Value of all Labor-Time.*

"All labor of a higher or more complicated character than average labor is expenditure of labor-power of a more costly kind; labor-power whose production has cost more time and labor, and which, therefore, has a *higher value* than unskilled or simple labor-time. This power being of higher value, its consumption is labor of a higher class; labor that *creates* in equal times proportionally higher values than unskilled labor does."

KARL MARX.

It is charged against Socialism that it proposes to pay the same price for *all kinds* of work on a simple time basis. For example, equal hours of labor, whether of sweeping or superintending the streets, whether of wiping or driving an engine, should be regarded as equivalent in value. Thus all kinds of work will be put upon the same level; the hod-carrier would receive equal pay with the mason, the water-boy with the conductor, the yard-hand in the mill with the superintendent.

We are told that labor-time alone, quantity of labor, irrespective of quality or conditions, determines the amount of recompense. This is objected to as both unjust and absurd. Does Socialism advance this doctrine? That it is charged with it may be seen from nearly all its recent critics. Dr. Woolsey says, "It is impossible to count hour's work in different employments as having the same value; or to put difficult or dangerous work by the side of easy or safe work, as though they ought to be subjected to the same measure; or to give equal rewards to intellectual and artistic work and to that performed by the common operative."¹

Mr. Rae thus paraphrases Marx in "*Das Kapital*:" "Value, then, is quantity of abstract labor; and now what is quantity of labor? How is it to be ascertained? Labor is the exertion or use of man's natural powers of labor, and the quantity of labor is measured by the duration of the

¹ "Communism and Socialism," pp. 165, 166.

exertion. Quantity of labor is thus reduced to time of labor, and is measured by hours and days and weeks."¹

That Mr. Rae by the quotation, "Quantity of labor is measured by the duration of the exertion," represents Marx as placing the same value upon all hours of concrete work, whatever be the occupation, is evident from the following statement, which he naively quotes from Marx: "A day's labor of given length always turns out a product of the same value."²

Thus put into circulation by the ablest critics of Socialism, this charge has become widely current, and is continually reiterated from the press and platform. In reply, we say, first, it is not true; and secondly, if it were true, that is, had a few Socialists indulged in this sentiment, it would no more discredit Socialism than the crusades or its other excrescences discredit Christianity. Socialism, like Christianity, consists of a body of principles admitting of great variety and latitude of expression and application.

1. This charge is inherently unreasonable and absurd. Is it natural to suppose that men of learning and sound judgment, like Rodbertus and Marx, would claim that health in occupation is of no account? That, for an example, the man who inhales sixty times as much carbonic acid gas as the laborer in pure air, should receive no more than the latter for one hour's labor, or should work the same number of hours for the same pay, which amounts to the same thing? Shall occupations that endanger life and limb, and in which the record of mortality is frightful, be put on a par with those wherein is perfect safety?

Is the severest strain on mind, muscle, and nerve, to receive the same compensation per hour as the most indifferent, happy-go-easy sort of work? skill that has cost half a lifetime and an outlay of thousands of dollars, to be paid no more than the young, green hand who picks up a shovel or broom for the first time! Such are the interrogations and exclamations indulged in by people who really believe that Socialism indorses such absurdities. They remind us

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 152.

² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

of the poor ignorant whites in the South during the war, who assured us that when they first saw the Yankees, they were surprised to find them without horns and tails, which they had been told by their leaders all Yankees possessed.

2. The alleged quotation from Marx, which furnishes the foundation of Mr. Rae's criticism, is a glaring misquotation: it is that, "a day's labor of given length always turns out a product of the same value." Marx says nothing of the kind in his great work on capital, neither does any other Socialistic writer regarded as authority.

The words of Marx, in "Das Kapital," which Mr. Rae is criticising, are, "The same labor, exercised during equal periods of time, always yields equal amounts of value."¹ Marx shows that even this rule would be varied by different degrees of production; it holds only *caeteris paribus*. It is then "the *same* labor," and not "a day's labor," in any occupation that produces equal values. The two statements are as wide apart as the poles of the earth. The former is eminently true; the latter eminently untrue, and even ridiculous. Furthermore, Marx does not mean by the "same labor" concrete labor at all, but average social labor; that is, labor in the abstract. This renders the misrepresentation still more glaring. Mr. Rae's quotation is thus seen to be a false witness, doing the greatest injustice to Marx. It has not even the merit of a caricature, which generally deceives no one; while this misrepresentation is caught up and believed, not only by newspapers and magazines which touch lightly on the profoundest themes, but also by eminent writers who have, until recently, been obliged to accept their knowledge of Marx at second hand, and is made the occasion of animadversion and ridicule, which have filled the popular mind with prejudice and even indignation.

3. The utter groundlessness of the charge under consideration is at once apparent when Dr. Woolsey's strictures are carefully examined.

In his chapter on "The Theory of Marx," he says, "It is impossible to count hours of work in different employ-

¹ "Das Kapital," pp. 13, 14.

ments as having the same value; or to put difficult or dangerous work by the side of easy or safe work, as though they ought to have the same measure," etc. He does not claim to give the exact words of Marx, but only the idea. Marx is represented as counting all hours of work, of whatever kind, as having the same value. One of "common" is equated to one hour of "skilled" labor; one hour of work of "the common operative" to one hour of "intellectual and artistic work."

Let Marx reply to this parody on his views. "*Skilled* labor counts only as *simple* labor intensified, or rather, as multiplied simple labor, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labor. . . . A commodity may be the product of the most skilled labor, but its value, by equating it to the product of simple, unskilled labor, represents a definite quantity of the latter labor alone. The different proportions in which different sorts of labor are reduced to unskilled labor as their standard, are established by a social process that goes on behind the backs of the producers, and, consequently, appears to be fixed by custom. For simplicity's sake we shall henceforth account every kind of labor to be unskilled, simple labor; by this we do no more than save ourselves the trouble of making the reduction."¹

Throughout his monumental work, Marx adheres to this rule, which, indeed, is the only scientific basis on which the discussion can proceed.

So far from counting "hours of work in different occupations as having the same value," Marx distinctly recognizes the different sorts of concrete labor as having for equal hours *different* values. So far from equating one hour's work of "the common operative" to one hour of "intellectual and artistic work," as Dr. Woolsey alleges, he sharply distinguishes "simple," common labor from skilled labor. "Skilled labor counts" not as simple, but as "simple labor intensified, or rather as multiplied simple labor." Notwithstanding his plain and emphatic words, "A *given quantity* of skilled being considered equal to a

¹ "Capital," pp. 11, 12.

greater quantity of simple labor," his critic persists in representing him as counting "hours of work in different employment as having the same value." What is the more remarkable, Marx nowhere employs any *dicta* in which this egregious misrepresentation can take refuge; on the contrary, he repeatedly emphasizes the difference in value of different kinds of work for the same periods of time; "all labor of a higher or more complicated character than average labor, is expenditure of labor-power of a more costly kind, labor-power, whose production has cost more time and labor, *and which therefore has a higher value than unskilled or simple labor-power*. This power being of higher value, its consumption is labor of a higher class, *labor that creates in equal times* proportionally higher values than unskilled labor does."¹

The italics are ours. Further citations are unnecessary. It is evident that Marx has been misunderstood and misrepresented. The charge that he advocated the same pay per hour for all sorts of work has no foundation, save in the imagination of Dr. Woolsey, Mr. Rae, and others, who have given it wide circulation. The bubble is no sooner pricked by the truth than it collapses. The false impressions created cannot, however, be so readily counteracted.

These critics, though unfriendly, doubtless intended to be fair. Dr. Woolsey was the embodiment of candor and fairness, but he was a born aristocrat and capitalist; but how hardly is it possible for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Socialism? His chapter on "Leading Features of the Theory of Marx" abounds in errors and misconceptions. We have already seen that the assertion that Marx advocated equal pay for equal hours of all kinds of work has not the shadow of support. Take another instance equally unjust to Marx. The latter says, "That which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor-time socially necessary, for its production."² Dr. Woolsey, assuming that manual labor of wage-workers alone is intended, replies, "It is not true that the amount of labor

¹ "Capital," p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

is the only source of value; . . . the employer is a vital factor in all work which requires time for its completion, which is conducted on a large scale, which requires many hands and careful supervision," etc.¹ The clear implication here is that Marx denies this; that in the phrase "the amount of labor socially necessary," he does not include the work of the "employer" or superintendent, who, Dr. Woolsey says, is "thrown out of calculation and treated as of no account." Nothing could be further from the truth. Marx distinctly and repeatedly recognizes the functions of the brain, as well as the hand, in work. "Each such function," he says, "whatever may be its nature or form, is essentially the expenditure of human brain, nerves, muscle, etc."² Such expressions as "the work of supervision," "the labor of superintendence," are continually employed. "In order to labor productively," he says, "it is no longer necessary for you to do manual work yourself."³ Indeed, there is not a syllable in "Das Kapital" to support this inference of Dr. Woolsey. Again, the latter says of Marx's system, "The differences of influence upon the amount produced by skilled and unskilled, efficient and inefficient work, . . . and by labor little above brute force, are not estimated. . . . All who work an hour are paid alike."⁴ So far is this from being true, that Marx repeatedly shows the keenest appreciation of these various factors in production. For example, he says, "In every process of creating value, the reduction of skilled labor to average social labor, for example, one day of *skilled* to six days of *unskilled* labor is unavoidable; we therefore save ourselves a superfluous operation, and simplify our analysis by the assumption, that the labor of the workmen employed by the capitalist is unskilled average labor."⁵

It fairly takes one's breath away to be told, after statements like this, as to the parts played by skilled and unskilled labor, that "they are not estimated." "Efficient

¹ "Communism and Socialism," pp. 165, 166.

² "Capital," p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 517.

⁴ "Communism and Socialism," p. 168.

⁵ "Capital," p. 180.

and inefficient work" are also carefully distinguished, the one from *the other* in his theory of value.

The value of a commodity is constituted not by the particular labor embodied in it, but by the labor *commonly required* for its production; by labor *socially necessary*, according to the average skill, efficiency, and other conditions prevailing at any given time and place.

It is not, then, any particular degree of efficiency or inefficiency, but the average quantity of labor, that determines value. Marx is sometimes hard to be understood, but there is no obscurity here. He says, "Some people might think that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor spent on it, the more idle and unskilful the laborer, the more valuable would his commodity be, because more time would be required in its production. The labor, however, that forms the substance of value is homogeneous human labor, expenditure of one uniform labor-power. The total labor-power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labor-power, composed though it be of innumerable individual units."¹

However these units may differ in other respects, they have one common character as component parts of "the average labor-power of society," which alone determines value. No author was ever more completely travestied than is Marx in this remarkable chapter by Dr. Woolsey. The implication contained in his question, "Suppose that all the profits were paid over to the operatives; would that mitigate any of the evils of society?"² is as misleading as to Marx's position as anything to which we have called attention. His statement that a body of German Socialists expect that in "the new Socialistic world of the future all the returns from labor will go to the laborer; for instance, that a year's production of cotton cloth, consisting of fifty million yards at ten cents the yard, or \$5,000,000, would have no deductions made from it by the new employer, the State,"³

¹ "Capital," pp. 5, 6.

² "Communism and Socialism," p. 160.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172.

is the most far-fetched, fictitious, and utterly unwarrantable of all. "The State," the proper support of which is a *sine qua non*, is the very foundation of Socialism, recognized by all representative Socialistic writers. This eminent critic could find no authority for this statement, or others to which we have called attention, nor does he pretend to give any. These statements, however, have been regarded as authority in the subject-matters to which they relate, by large numbers who recognize the great ability and reputation of their author.

It is not exaggeration to say that his entire chapter is a tissue of misrepresentations from beginning to end. That such misrepresentation was unintentional renders it none the less mischievous in its consequences. It is not only unjust to Marx, but, what is far more serious, it falsifies the position of all Socialists, renders Socialism at once absurd and odious to an inquirer, and thus hinders it from having a fair hearing.

We have seen (chapter iii., section 1) that labor in its most comprehensive sense is the only source of value; that nearly, if not all kinds of manual, mental, and moral labor can be reduced to simple labor-time, and, for the most part, actually are so reduced and paid on a time basis. The analysis of the process of this reduction unmasks the injustice in the great inequalities of remuneration received by the different classes of laborers. Socialism seeks to remedy this injustice, which all right-minded men must deplore, but which is inherent in the capitalistic system.

The present extremes of compensation received by the highest and lowest social workers, are condemned by Christian ethics as unjust and dangerous to society.

Socialism would not equate hard labor with easy, or skilled with unskilled, or dangerous with safe. It would reward labor more equally, and hence more justly, than does the present system.

Rodbertus proposed that all goods should go directly from the farm or manufactory into great magazines; that laborers should receive a kind of paper money representing hours of labor. These they would present at the magazine,

and receive whatever they need. The State should be sole producer ; all citizens would be workers under this system. If, by the introduction of machinery, the power or productivity of labor was doubled, twice as many goods would go to the magazine, and twice as many would be received for an hour's labor. This, or something like this, is what Socialism seeks. It does not propose an equal number of hours, with equal pay, for all kinds of labor ; but it would in some manner, to be ascertained perhaps only after many experiments, apportion the rewards of labor more equally among the people. The method of applying a right principle is of secondary importance. He who would insist on knowing how truth and righteousness are going to work before he adopts them, is a temporizer and a coward. Socialism adopts as a fundamental principle of human society, not individual privilege, but obligation ; not liberty, but duty. This is none other than the law of God. "To whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required." This principle plunges a dagger into the heart of individualism ; expressed economically, it says, no member of the social body shall use his superior powers to exploit either his neighbor or society, but rather for the good of his fellow-men. If this is Socialism, it is also the original, simple gospel of Jesus Christ.

The present economy distributes the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life to men according to their smartness ; and there are sage men who assure us that this is the divinely constituted order. It is, on the contrary, a travesty of the gospel of love ; it is thoroughly earthly, sensual, and devilish. Is it forgotten that the holy Scriptures have something to say concerning a general law of wages ? Does God reward laborers according to their smartness or talents ? In the parable of the talents we read, "Unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one ; to every man according to his several ability."¹ When the pay-day arrives, how are their wages determined ? By their talents or ability ? Not at all ; but by their fidelity. The man with two received as much as

¹ Matt. xxv.

the man with five talents, because he had done the best he could. But the man who would not do anything is consigned to "outer darkness," where he ought to be. But it is objected, "This parable of the talents is designed to show the state of things in the kingdom of heaven, and not in the kingdom of industrialism." What, now, is the crime of Socialism? That it would introduce the kingdom of God on earth! That it seeks to make heaven begin here below!

This divine law of wages is enforced even more strongly in the parable of the vineyard. The owner wants help: he goes out in the morning to hire laborers; the price of one penny per day is agreed upon, and the men go to work. At nine o'clock the employer visited "the market-place," and found others looking for a job, and at once set them at work, promising them "*whatsoever is right*." At noon, at three o'clock, and even as late as five in the afternoon, he found laborers looking for work, and said to them, "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" They replied, "Because no man hath hired us." Immediately he sets them all at work, promising, as before, to give "*whatsoever is right*." At night he settles with the laborers, and, "*mirabile dictu*," he pays them all alike; the short-time workers receive a penny, and the all-day workers receive no more. "This," exclaims the capitalistic system, "is an unpardonable sin!" The Scriptures reply, "But the poor fellows who came last needed as much, and were as worthy, as those who came first; their families were equally dependent on them; they were *willing* to labor, but work was scarce, and surely the first have all they expected." Capitalism replies, "But this is revolutionary. What will become of competition and the economic harmonies? We protest in the name of all classical political economy! The law of wages is utterly subverted! If the poor and the weak and the unfortunate have a right to live and be comfortable, my days are numbered. When was my right to all I could get, though thousands starved, ever before called in question? Away with this sentimental nonsense; business is business."

Thus speaks the present capitalistic system, upheld and defended even by Christian men, —

“Who, for the poor renown of being *smart*,
Would leave a sting within a brother's heart.”

If now it be asked whether Socialism proposes to remunerate all citizens in the employ of the State equally, we answer no. Some classes of workmen require more than others. The character of the work as to intensity, health, agreeableness, and many other features must be taken into account.

Socialism would not, however, tolerate a system of remuneration that would enable one member of the social body to be rich and lord it over another who was equally worthy and deserving. It would banish only such inequalities as spring from what is vicious in human nature, and cause men to hate and trample upon each other. It would uphold a law of wages founded in social justice, consonant with the principles of brotherhood, and sanctioned by the gospel of God. Such is the moral foundation of the law of wages that Marx and all Socialists would adopt. It is essentially equitable and Christian, and if it be unscientific and uneconomic, so much the worse for science, falsely so called.

It is charged that this law of wages proposes to place an equal value upon all labor-time. This charge we have shown to have been conceived in prejudice, brought forth in misunderstanding, and maintained in misrepresentation.

VIII. — *As to the Impairment of Motives to Exertion.*

“No thinking man will controvert that associated industry is the most powerful agent of production, and that the principle of association is susceptible of further and beneficial development.” — JOHN STUART MILL.

It is objected to Socialism that it would impair the motives to exertion, and thus diminish production and retard progress. “The purely economic argument against Socialism is that it would be less efficient in producing wealth.” This is important if true. Mr. Rae says, “The incentives to energy of production would be relaxed.”¹ Again he tell us that “producer's wealth, they [Socialists]

¹ “Contemporary Socialism,” p. 363.

hold, should be common property, and neither be owned nor inherited by individuals. "If this theory were to be enforced it would be fatal to progress."¹

It is admitted that without incentive men will not labor; that without labor there can be no production; and that without production there can be no progress; and, further, that, *cæteris paribus*, in proportion as these causes operate will be their respective effects. But this is not in issue. The question is, would Socialism weaken individual incentive and occasion the ills complained of? Mr. Rae answers in the affirmative. How does he know? He does not. He boldly assumes that society is still, and must continue to be, in that stage of development in which, if every man fights for himself and all fight each other, "production" and "progress" will be greater than if all the members of society should work together for a common end under a system of co-operation. Such co-operation is Socialism. In opposing Socialism, Mr. Rae finds it necessary to lay down the principle that in *dis*-union there is strength; a principle that antagonizes all history and experience.

The following considerations are pertinent to this subject:—

1. This objection does not affect the *principles* of Socialism, but only its *modus operandi*.

2. The objection is founded on the assumptions of the existing political economy, and is true under this system, but has no application to a Socialistic state. Adam Smith said, "A person who can acquire no property can have no other interest but to eat as much, and to labor as little, as possible."² He is speaking only of slave labor under a capitalistic *régime*. His statement is a general truth. Under Socialism, where every one is a freeman and a joint owner of the entire capital, and the conditions are different, *toto cælo*, it is unwarrantably declared that the results will be the same.

3. It is evident that no one can safely dogmatize in this matter. Dr. Woolsey frankly admits that "an unknown

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 365.

² "The Wealth of Nations" (Rogers' Edition), vol. i., p. 391.

quantity enters into the question. Everything depends on the influence of the new conditions of work and on the new causes in general acting upon the character of the workmen themselves. Will they be made manly, self-relying, conscientious, and provident, or the opposite of all this?"¹

4. It is conceded that an economic interest on the part of the individual must be maintained under Socialism. Schæffle says, "Socialism would have to give the individual at least as strong an interest in the collective work as he has under the liberal system of production. It would have to secure to every sub-group a premium on extraordinary amounts of collective production, and a loss through collective slackness; . . . to bestow effective distinction on all special success in technical development, and duly to reward great individual merit."² It by no means follows, however, that the interest in the one system need be exactly equal to that in the other. An excess of economic zeal has destroyed the harmony and happiness of many lives.

5. The objection under consideration proceeds on the assumption that economic interest under any *régime necessarily* depends for its healthy existence and operation upon the opportunity and expectation of accumulating private riches. This assumption cannot for a moment be admitted.

6. Inasmuch as the income and social well-being of every individual would depend, first, upon his own zeal, and second, upon the zeal of others, he would be doubly interested in securing the largest possible product; for his share of this product would measure the amount of necessary comforts and luxuries which he would receive. Each workman would, therefore, have a personal interest in the work of every other. A careless or lazy workman would receive less than the more worthy; every one would be interested in the efficiency of labor, by which cost would be reduced and the social product increased. So far from impairing the motive to effort, it is easy to imagine almost any degree of honest pride and enthusiasm of labor when

¹ "Communism and Socialism," p. 211.

² "Quintessence of Socialism," p. 57.

every workman had a personal interest in the work of every other; and, on the other hand, the detestation with which idleness and laziness would be regarded when these vices assumed the character of direct injury to one's fellows and of treason to the State.

7. Because public functionaries in a *capitalistic* state are often indifferent as to economic results, it is erroneously inferred that the same would be true in the Socialistic state. "It would," we are told, "render universal the maladministration inherent in all public productive departments." It is *entirely* overlooked that the conditions are wholly changed. Under capitalism, the official has no *economic* interest at stake. Under Socialism, such interest is bound up with the results of the social production. In the former case he draws his pay regardless of the quality of his work; in the latter, both pay and position are affected by the quality of work. It is certain that when political preferment and honor depended upon economic products, a stimulus would be given to production.

8. At present large numbers do not work; they have no contact with labor, no interest in lightening its burden or improving its methods. Under Socialism, all are workers; all will therefore have an interest in lightening the burden of labor, and we might reasonably expect an era of labor-saving inventions such as capitalism has never dreamed of.

9. There are other motives to exertion even stronger than the desire of riches, but which are generally ignored by the critics of Socialism. There are, besides the demands which satisfy merely physical wants, the love of glory, the desire of esteem, family affection, the love of justice, the passion for knowledge, and even the religious principle, all of which are springs of human activity often more potent than the love of money; and when their activity and realization are made to depend entirely upon labor, manual, mental, or moral, is it reasonable to suppose that there would be any lack of incentive to economic or other social effort?

We have only to witness the generous and wholesome

rivalries among a thousand college students where the stimulus of pecuniary reward is unknown, to satisfy us on this point. We speak from personal observation and knowledge in saying that we have never witnessed a nobler ambition and spirit of self-sacrifice than was displayed in the army that suppressed the Rebellion. Soldiers, without the least regard to a money consideration, vied with each other in performing the most difficult and dangerous duties.

10. The maxim, *Each for all and all for each*, admits and demands only that kind and degree of self-interest which is just or tolerable in a state of society.

11. It is inherently probable that production would be vastly greater when men assisted and encouraged each other, than when they opposed and ruined each other. To hold to the contrary is anarchistic, unethical, and unnatural. It is virtually to abandon all faith in God and all hope of the race.

12. Experience does not sustain this charge. Co-operative enterprises in which the share of each is affected by the total result, show no abatement, but rather an increase, of private zeal. This is one of the advantages urged in favor of co-operation. Does the soundness of the principle depend upon the size of the co-operative establishment? Evidently not: then it holds good of the co-operative commonwealth.

13. The capitalistic system, by depriving wage-workers of a just share in the product, tends to destroy their *interest* in the work, and to render them lazy, wasteful, and inefficient. In his excellent work on "Profit Sharing," N. P. Gilman holds that "the wages-system, viewed in its simplest form of time-wages, does not supply the necessary motives for the workman to do his best."¹

The bitterest and most universal complaint of employers of labor is, "The workmen take no interest in their work."

14. A clear distinction should be made between the motives to efforts for a *comfortable subsistence*, and the motives to efforts for *acquiring riches*. It is the last class of motives of which capitalism is ever jealous, but for which

¹ "Profit Sharing," p. 62.

Socialism, backed by ethical science, declares the judgment day to be at hand.

15. We have seen that the interest which the laborer took in his work would, under Socialism, be an important factor in determining the measure of his reward. This objection, that Socialism would impair the motive to effort, derives a fictitious importance, because based on a false conception of Socialism, which is thus formulated by Mr. Rae: "Under a Socialistic *régime*, they [laborers] cannot by any merit acquire more property than they enjoy in daily use, and they cannot by any fault fail to possess that."¹ This is the substance of only half, and the purely communistic half, of the formula adopted by Louis Blanc: "Each produces according to his faculties, and consumes according to his wants." Mr. Rae's inference, ignoring the half that demands the best effort of the laborer, and asserting that the same reward would be to the worthy and the unworthy, is an unwarrantable disjointing and perversion of this formula, and of the teaching of Socialism.

16. The argument that State-help would impair the motive to effort is fallacious. It employs the term State-help as the equivalent of charity. It contrasts State-help with self-help under the capitalistic *régime*, and assumes that Socialism will render all citizens objects of charity, *quasi* paupers, and as such socially demoralized. This is a strange mistake. The very object of Socialism is to render State-help in this sense unnecessary. There is a sense in which the State helps and must help its members. Property, as now conceived, can neither be acquired nor held without the aid of the State through its laws. State-help, in protecting life and limb, is demanded by all. Economically speaking, men are becoming more and more dependent upon the help of each other. "In his economic position, in the manner and in the success of his economic activity, in all that pertains to his income and to his resources, the individual becomes dependent upon the economic activity and acts of others."²

¹ "Contemporary Socialism," p. 364.

² Schönberg, as quoted in "Political Economy" (Ely), p. 26.

Indeed, all communication by mail, telegraph, or telephone, is through State-help. We cannot go anywhere, nor transport anything, nor engage in any business, without the assistance and security of the laws; that is, without State-help. This is the nature of State-help which Socialism will render to individuals. *It will help them to help themselves.* It will encourage them by removing obstacles which society now puts in their way. It will help them, as State-help, by its roads and regulations, now assists a traveller on his way, and enables him to reach his destination.

In no sense is the State-help which Socialism would render, a charity tending to impair economic motive and pauperize its recipients. On the other hand, multitudes who now receive State-help as charity, would become self-supporting and self-respecting citizens. Mr. Joseph Cook says, "You may pour in State-help, ages and ages, without filling the Socialistic bag; and until self-help gives it a bottom, the filling will be useless."¹ He ignores the fact that State-help even now renders self-help effective or even possible. Co-operation is the first and last principle of Socialism; not *communistic*, but *socialistic* co-operation. Whenever tried, co-operative-help has intensified the spirit of self-help. Mr. Cook admits this, and says "Co-operation:—

1. Obviates strikes.
2. Stimulates the workmen to industry and carefulness.
3. Incites him to frugality.
4. Improves his moral, social, and political character.
5. Provides for him employment, independent of the will of the middleman.
6. Gives him the middleman's share of the profit."²

If co-operative-help can do all this for workmen in the face of the present bitter and implacable economic forces, what may we not expect from co-operative-help when its grand principle becomes fully developed and perfected in the co-operative commonwealth?

This is State-help if you please, but it is nevertheless self-help. It is difficult to see the logical force of Mr. Cook's

¹ "Socialism," p. 87.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

distinction between the "Socialist" who depends on State-help, and the "co-operator" who depends on "self-help;" it would seem to be a distinction without a difference, or with a difference decidedly in favor of Socialism. Socialists have no sympathy with pauperism. They abhor it; they are all self-helpers, and in this way helpers of others. The opposite of self-help is not State-help, but each-other-help. Socialism says to every able-bodied man, "You must work." Is this State-help? Individualism says to the idle millions that constitute parasitic society, "You need not work; you need not depend on self-help, nor State-help, nor the help of the Almighty, as I have got society so organized that you can compel the toiling multitudes to earn your bread, and you can live in idleness." The pauper spirit is one that seeks to get what another has earned, and it is disastrous to society, whether it accomplishes this through the exploitation of the laborer, or begs from door to door.

One would imagine, from the solicitude of the defenders of capitalism lest self-help should be imperilled by Socialism, that it was the corner-stone of the capitalistic *régime*. On the contrary, self-employment is becoming more and more difficult, and has already entirely disappeared among large classes of laborers; and the sad accompaniment is a loss of hope, of patriotism, of faith in God, of noble emulation, and of all motives save such as minister to the satisfaction of animal wants. Socialism, it is confidently believed, would revive the hope and courage of these disfranchised classes and restore them to their inheritance.

Besides these sixteen considerations which bear directly on the question before us, and render it at least improbable that in the co-operative commonwealth the motive to effort would be impaired, production diminished, and progress retarded, another phase of the subject is worthy of attention. We will pass by the fact that, even if the incentive to effort should be somewhat weakened, the large number of present non-producers which would be added to the army of workers would greatly increase production; and the further fact that the immense waste of capitalism, to which we have called attention, would be saved under Socialism, and tend

still further to the total production. Suppose, then, that material "progress" was retarded; what would happen? Is it absolutely certain that society could not survive the terrible consequences should it slacken its pace in "making haste to be rich"?

The most recent and significant voice of political economy says, "To show that a practical measure will create wealth is not enough to commend it. The main question is, what effect will it have on the entire life of the nation, also of humanity? The true starting-point in economic discussions is the ethical community, of which the individual is a member."¹ This is well and bravely said. The race of nations is not always to the swift. This country would live longer if it lived more slowly. Our mushroom growth, however flattering to our vanity, is anything but assuring to the students of history. The result of economic zeal under capitalism is the vast accumulation of private riches; and this, if history repeats itself, will be the signal for national decay and dissolution. Not until "silver was in Jerusalem as stones," was the powerful kingdom of the Israelites divided and destroyed. Mighty Babylon succumbed, not to the armies of Cyrus, but to the fatal revelry begotten of her wealth and splendor; and the wonder of the whole world became "an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant." The glory of Sparta departed with the acquisition of wealth. A single sentence of the historian reveals the cause of her fall: "The primitive simplicity of Spartan manners had been completely destroyed by the collection of wealth into a few hands, and by the consequent progress of luxury."² The rise and power of the different states of Greece were contemporary with the industrious habits of all the people. Chiefs and nobles at first performed manual labor, and their wives and daughters not only wove and spun, but assisted their slaves fetching water and washing garments; but with the accumulation of wealth, and the consequent weakening of physical and moral fibre, came national decay and ruin.

¹ "Political Economy" (Ely), p. 84.

² "History of Greece" (Smith), p. 530.

Gibbon dates the decline of the Roman Empire from the accession of Commodus, when the wealth of all Europe, Asia, and Africa lay at her feet. In more recent times when Spain began to overflow with gold under Charles V., her national power and glory began to ebb. Professor Ely says truly, "Economic forces are prominent in the decay of civilization."¹ History furnishes abundant evidence that in all ages cities and countries become popular and powerful, then perish from their riches and consequent moral rottenness.

Mr. Rae tells us that "Socialists ignore the civilizing value of private property and inheritance."² A more important question in the light of history is, do political economists and advocates of the capitalistic system appreciate the demoralizing and ruinous tendencies of these institutions?

If all social "progress" depends on the amassing of property, at what point does society begin to progress backwards?

This word "*progress*" may yet break the back of free institutions. The notion is now practically limited to materialism in its broadest and grossest sense: it suggests gigantic financial schemes, the development of natural resources, the utilization of the forces of nature, and the material aggrandizement of individuals and nations; in a word, the enthronement of physical science as paramount to all other considerations, temporal or eternal. Moral and psychological science of infinite importance to the race is comparatively neglected and ignored. We do not worship "the good old times," nor do we care to have civilization set back to primitive times; but we have no objection to going back to what was good, and better than now. We forget that the world got along fairly well without steam-engines, railroads, electric wires, and printing-presses. Plato was something of a traveller and writer. Socrates succeeded in getting around Athens without an elevated railway, and he understood tolerably well the art of con-

¹ "Political Economy," p. 131.

² "Contemporary Socialism," p. 364.

versation. Could Noah have availed himself of our "*progress*" and built the ark in thirty days, the day of doom for the race would have been hastened one hundred and twenty years. The "fulness of time," according to infinite wisdom, so far from being in the nineteenth century, was two thousand years ago. Christ managed to get along without steam, and actually went on foot through Palestine. Bacon and Shakspeare, Franklin and Washington, without the telegraph and telephone, contrived to say and do some things worth remembering. Flatter ourselves as we may, material "*Progress*" alone will never restore "the lost arts," bring back the as yet unapproached Attic culture, or introduce the Millennium. We believe in "*progress*," only do not let us as individuals or nations seek to gain the whole world, at the expense of losing heaven both here and hereafter. The sole condition of all healthy, happy human life, is *mens sana in corpore sano*. This soundness of mind and body for the individual as well as for the State can be acquired and can continue to exist only by cultivating the homely virtues of temperance in diet, simplicity of manners, naturalness of physical habits, morality and religion, and the proportionate exercise and development of the mental and physical powers. Riches and luxury are as great a curse as poverty and want.

IX. — *As to the Destruction of Liberty.*

"There are two freedoms: the false, where a man is free to do what he likes; the true, where a man is free to do what he ought."

CHARLES KINGSLEY.

It is objected to Socialism that it would destroy the liberty of the citizen, and place him in the relation of a serf to the State. Dr. Woolsey thus formulates this objection: "The laborer has, and can have, no effective choice in regard to employment or amount of wages or place of abode, if the State is to be the great employer and capitalist."¹ This is a sweeping statement. No form of human slavery could be more complete and abject. When a man's

¹ "Communism and Socialism," p. 164.

work, compensation, and abode are arbitrarily determined by a master, his liberty is indeed lost. But worse than this, he assures us that when the State has "all production, transportation, and the furnishing of supplies in its hands, . . . not much choice would be left to private persons in reference to articles they would wish to use, and to the satisfaction of their desires."¹ This is, indeed, a woful picture. Under Socialism, according to this writer, the citizen not only has no effective choice as to his work, wages, or abode, but not even as to what he shall eat, drink, or wear. The Greek, Roman, and even American slave was a freeman in comparison. Mr. Rae also says, "Under a *régime* of Socialism, freedom would be choked."² Freedom, he says, is necessary for individual development and social progress. Socialists hold the same. What, then, is the difference? Socialists claim that the new order would, and their critics that it would not, admit of freedom, especially freedom of choice in occupation.

In the first place, let us glance at the character of the arguments employed by Mr. Rae to sustain this serious charge. At present he says the demand for a certain kind of labor regulates the number of workmen seeking that employment. The same, he admits, might be true under Socialism; but since the State would assign to each laborer his work, those who failed to get the most desirable work would feel that they had been discriminated against, and hence wronged. This would be a loss of freedom. A single statement will furnish a complete answer to this argument. The State could give shorter hours or less pay for easy and attractive work, and in this way, by proportioning reward to work, easily regulate the supply of laborers throughout the entire field of industry. This is only one of a hundred devices which the State might adopt to secure the same end. Mr. Rae's argument is after this fashion: "If you attempt to make a wheel revolve on an axle, the motion will create heat, the axle will swell, and the wheel stop. The wheel and axle idea, therefore, is

¹ "Communism and Socialism," p. 208.

² "Contemporary Socialism," p. 365.

only the Utopian dream of impracticable men." By the application of a little oil, however, the wheel and axle are found to work admirably. In the same way, if the critics of Socialism would allow a little of the oil of common-sense in the adjustment and practical working of its principles, they would attach less importance to their hard and fast theories. Now let us look at this matter of freedom of choice in occupations, which Dr. Woolsey and others lay so much stress upon. Might not Socialism help the individual to secure his choice of work as the present Socialistic highways assist the traveller on his journey, or as our thoroughly Socialistic school system helps each scholar to make the wisest choice of studies? It is in order for our critics to show that because the State owns the school plants, the means of the production and distribution of knowledge, that the *freedom* of the scholar is destroyed; that he cannot *choose* his study; that his *individuality* is lost, and that *progress* in knowledge must cease. Socialism in education is no longer an experiment, but a historical and glorious fact. It does not "choke freedom" in the choice of studies, but furnishes the individual with help, the value of which cannot be over-estimated. What is to hinder the same result in industry? When the State owns and controls the means of production and distribution, and takes charge of all the industrial workers, it is difficult to see why it may not assist the individual in the choice of a pursuit in any department of manual, mental, or moral activity. Dr. A. J. F. Behrends, however, does not hesitate to say, "It could not be anything else than a despotism of extreme type, more oppressive and exacting than any that ever cursed the fair lands of the East. . . . Wages would once more be determined by law, or by vote of committee, for men, and not by them."¹ In support of these sweeping assertions, no evidence is adduced, no facts are given, no appeal is made to history or philosophy, and no attempt is even made to deduce them from the way in which Socialism might be supposed to work. On the contrary, the opinion is taken for granted, and then boldly asserted. The state-

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," p. 85.

ment that "wages would once more be determined by law," is contradicted by all Socialists, by the genius of Socialism *itself*, and implied in the author's own admission that the State would be sole producer. In Socialism, the entire production of the country belongs to the people, all of whom are laborers. The product is annually distributed among all the people. The share of each, which would depend largely on the annual product, is therefore his wages. Wages would be determined, therefore, not by law, but by the amount of production.

There is, indeed, a kind of freedom which is "choked by" the State's control of education. It is the freedom of the individual to let his children grow up in ignorance if he so desires. Under Socialism, a man *must* send his children to school. Every citizen *must* be able to read and write. In these and other respects natural freedom is restrained for the sake of civil or social freedom. Natural or personal freedom allows every man to go where he pleases, to do what he chooses, to take possession of whatever he likes, without the slightest regard to any other human being. It is the freedom of the wild beast. The moment men form themselves into society, however, this sort of freedom must be surrendered in exchange for the greater benefits conferred by society. Freedom is still an ambiguous term. If we intend by it the natural, wholly unrestrained movement of the individual, it is the most brutal, savage, and wicked word that ever entered the thought of man or demon. If, on the other hand, we intend by it that movement of the individual which is restrained and limited by the requirements of society, according to the eternal principles of right and justice, then freedom is the grandest, sublimest word in the world's vocabulary.

The present volcanic upheaval of industrial fire and lava is due to the fact that natural freedom is let loose upon an advancing social state. Civil or social freedom has been largely realized in education, in politics and religion, but in *industry* natural freedom has not been sufficiently restrained; individuals are left free to prey upon the weaker members of the social body, and every attempt to limit this

freedom is met by the cry that freedom is endangered. And so it is; not *social* freedom, let it be borne in mind, but *natural* or animal freedom which allows one to kill and eat the next man he meets, provided he is strong enough, and provided his methods of cannibalism are sufficiently refined and within due form of law; and provided further that he inscribes on the fillet of his victim this motto sacred to individualism: "You have *an equal chance* to kill and eat me, were you strong enough, which sacred right is guaranteed by freedom." We have called attention to the insufficiency of the doctrine of equal chances and need not discuss it here.

Socialism demands that natural freedom in industrial affairs be so far restrained as is necessary for the good of all the people; that is, for the highest degree of civil freedom. The charge under consideration, that Socialism would destroy the freedom of the workmen, is supported only by arguments based on pure assumption. For example, an able writer says, "When government supervises all work, it will determine what each laborer must do, and he will have no choice in the matter." No argument is adduced in support of this bold assertion. It by no means follows that because government supervises work the workman "will have no choice in the matter." One might with equal propriety say that because government supervises marriage, including all the details of certificates and returns, it therefore determines what woman a man shall marry. Freedom of choice in occupations, under government supervision of labor, need not be interfered with any more than is the present freedom of choice in marriage. A similar logic would show that the "factory acts" interfere with the freedom of the manufacturer in choosing the kind and quality of the goods he shall produce. Would any say, because the government owns and supervises the highways, because it requires the traveller to turn out on a certain side, to walk his team on a bridge, to drive through the street so as not to exceed a certain rate of speed, to tie his horse when he stops, and not to drive him at all unless the government regards him in a proper physical condition, that freedom of travel is destroyed, and that a man can no

longer choose his destination, but the government must decide where every man must go? We might multiply illustrations showing that the State controls institutions and social activities without at all interfering with freedom of choice except in cases where society would be injured thereby. Natural freedom, however, is always interfered with by civil laws and institutions. Natural or personal freedom in education, in manufacturing, in travelling, and in many other respects, is restricted for the good of society, but without injustice to any. The same might be true in government control of industry. If in any respect the natural freedom of laborers should be restricted, it would be seen to be for the good of society at large, and hence for the good of laborers themselves, as all would be workers. The need of governmental restraint is a great desideratum in all departments of industry. "Twenty years ago, a man who was out of debt and drawing a salary that supported his family in medium comfort, conceived the idea of building a business block. It cost several times more than his estimate. The builders took advantage of his ignorance of materials and cheated him; and at length he came to a stop, with a heavy debt and the block unfinished. There is still litigation over this structure. Many of the creditors lost money, and the projector of it lost everything he had, chief of which was his peace of mind for twenty years. He could not educate his children, nor give them any personal attention, being always closely pushed to keep his importunate creditors at bay while he reserved enough from his constant labor to live. He borrowed of his personal friends to appease his creditors, and then could not pay these latter debts. The sum of discomfort that this one man, who was perfectly honest, well-meaning, and industrious to a fault, was able to bring upon himself and fifty or sixty others directly, to say nothing of the derangement that he effected in the business community where he launched his venture, is not to be estimated. The commercial highway is strewn with such failures, which are the quite inevitable consequence of a business chaos that allows any one to undertake anything he is disposed to

undertake, without the least preparation or proven qualification. As a physician is educated in the principles and practice of medicine, the business novice ought to pass through a similar apprenticeship in business methods required by the community for self-protection and for his protection."¹

Such is the anarchy of individualism or the capitalistic system. Any remedy that is effectual involves a denial of the fundamental assumptions of this system, and an acceptance of the principles of Socialism.

The objection that Socialism would be destructive to liberty proceeds from the assumption that its government would be despotic, a power outside of and above the people. It thus by skilful rhetorical manœuvring enlists in its support the popular alarm and antipathy with which tyrannical governments are regarded. It is assumed that even among a free people *government* is not the State, but some power opposed to the people and sure to tyrannize over them. Although this assumption appears plausible, from the fact that history even of the immediate past deals largely with the tyranny of despotic governments, it has absolutely no foundation in a republic. The people are the State, and the State for present purposes is the government. If the people govern themselves, they are the government. "A government of the people, by the people, and for the people" cannot by any *fiction orationis*, be different from the people themselves acting in their political capacity. If we could rid ourselves of the notion that a truly republican government is something different from the State, and likely to be opposed to the people, it would be an immense gain, not only to clearness of ideas, but especially to a fair consideration of the claims of Socialism.

We have only to bear in mind that the Socialistic government is the people, all of whom are workers, to see that the charge that the government would destroy the freedom of the workmen is exactly equivalent to the charge that the people would destroy their own freedom. When a government of, by, and for the people chooses the occupa-

¹ Morrison I. Swift, "Andover Review," December, 1891.

tions of the people, such occupations are chosen by the people themselves; and this none the less if perchance the people appoint commissioners to advise and assist individuals in making a choice.

The sweeping charge of Dr. Woolsey which we noticed at the outset is nowhere sustained; and we submit to the candid reader that it labors under the burden of improbability.

Over-government may easily happen in a monarchy, an oligarchy or aristocracy, but not in a democracy. As a man who controls himself cannot be too much controlled, so a people *who govern themselves* cannot be too much governed. Only so far as the government is not democratic need there be any fear of centralized power. Democracy stands on two legs, the general dissemination of knowledge and a high standard of morality. Socialism places special emphasis upon the former, and aims to secure the latter by a recognition in the organic law of society of the spirit and letter of the Golden Rule.

X. — *As to Class Rule by Laborers.*

"The working class is the only class which is not a class. It is the nation. It represents, so to speak, the body as a whole, of which the other classes only represent special organs. These organs no doubt have great and indispensable functions, but for most purposes of government the State consists of the laboring majority. Its welfare depends on what their lives are like." — FREDERICK HARRISON.

Socialism is objected to on the ground that it aims to place the functions of government exclusively in the hands of working men. The charge is thus formulated by Dr. Behrends: "The Socialistic ideal is the dominance of the laboring classes, a supremacy as really sectional as the monarchical, the aristocratic, the military, and the plutocratic, against each of which, in turn, society has protested and revolted. The divine right of labor to rule is as partisan and despotic a formula as the divine right of kings, of birth, blood, and wealth; in this matter there can be no compromise with the advocates of the new order."¹

¹ "Socialism and Christianity," p. 82.

We heartily indorse this sentiment as to class rule. It is a solid shot from a long-ranged and truly American columbiad. It labors, however, under this difficulty: while aimed at Socialism, it hits squarely the bull's-eye of capitalism. Three-fourths of the people are wage-workers; and yet in the halls of Congress, in the several State Legislatures, and even in the city governments, a wage-worker is regarded as a *rara avis*. Legislation by the moneyed class is the bane of the present system. Against this class rule Socialism is the long, loud, and irrepressible protest. A writer coming to the defence of capitalism as against Socialism on the ground of *class rule*, protesting in the name of liberty and equality against a system that would substitute the rule of *three-fourths* of the people for that of the now dominant *one-fourth*, is a circumstance that will not escape the attention of the candid reader. We have made this concession, however, simply to meet our critic on his own ground. We now withdraw it. Socialism does not advocate "the dominance of the laboring classes." It recognizes no such distinction as laboring and non-laboring classes. Its fundamental principle is that *all citizens are laborers, either manual, mental, or moral, in the Socialistic vineyard*. It knows nothing of able-bodied non-workers. In this Socialist writers of all schools are agreed. Laborers would indeed be dominant, but only because *all* citizens were laborers. In such a *régime* the idea of class rule by laborers would be an absurdity.

It is the more remarkable that our critic should have advanced this idea because it is repudiated by the authorities cited in the introduction to his work and on which he relies. Among these is Ely's "French and German Socialism," which gives an abstract of the views of Babœuf, Cabet, St. Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Rodbertus, Marx, and Lassalle. These writers represent every phase of Socialism, and not one of them fails to repudiate the vicious principle of class rule by laborers. Neither can it be deduced from the nature of Socialism. Such rule is contrary to its very genius. This is admitted by Laveleye in his "Socialism of To-day," which our critic characterizes

as a "masterly survey," also by Schaeffle and other able writers on whom he claims to rely.

Laveleye says, "Socialism demands that wealth shall no longer be the privilege of idleness, and that he that sows not shall not reap. This is exactly what St. Paul so emphatically says: *Qui non laborat nec manducet*; 'If any will not work, neither shall he eat.'"¹ In other words, Socialism demands that all shall work as they have ability. Schaeffle on almost his opening page declares this to be the fundamental principle of Socialism. All talk therefore about "the dominance of the laboring classes" in such an order involves an absurdity.

This objection can find no support from the exhortations of Socialist orators and manifestoes urging proletarians of all lands to unite, or the fourth estate to assert their right to rule; for such language refers to the injustice of the present system, the methods of agitation, and the means of effecting the social change, but never to the Socialistic state itself, which includes every citizen in its fourth which would then be the first and only estate.

Nothing, however, is more common than to seize upon these watch-words of social reformers, separate them from their connection, pervert their meaning, associate them with whatever is offensive, and then sound them in the popular ear as the teachings of Socialism.

XI. — *As to the Corruption of Politics.*

"Gigantic party political frauds, — these are cause and effect. They imperil the peace of the republic. They must do so more and more as our population grows. Ultimately in America there will be either civil-service reform or civil war." — JOSEPH COOK.

It is charged against Socialism that it would open wide the door to political corruption. We have shown in the preceding chapter that Socialism would purify politics. We shall therefore confine ourselves strictly to this charge and to its refutation.

Mr. Joseph Cook says, "The State which places at the

¹ "Socialism of To-day," Introduction, p. 39.

disposal of its government its money, land, and all means of production, opens the way for endless pecuniary and political corruption."¹ This proposition is illustrated and enforced by wit and simile, history and philosophy, dogma and logic, after the inimitable manner of its illustrious author. Multitudes turn away from Socialism at the bare mention of its supposed political money, political lands, mines, factories, and the political management of all the processes in the production and distribution of economic goods. Can free institutions exist, it is plausibly asked, when public patronage is thus increased, and the hungry hordes of officials are numbered by millions instead of hundreds of thousands, and the doors of political corruption and jobbery are thrown open in every direction?

This reasoning is based upon a fundamental misconception of what Socialism is. It assumes the validity of three principles which Socialism utterly repudiates: first, that the government or State is separate and opposed to the people; second, that the spoils system would continue in the Socialistic state; third, that money would continue to play the same part as under capitalism. These three assumptions constitute, under capitalism, the tripod on which rests the institution of political corruption, and which furnishes a basis for the argument that an increased number of government officials necessarily leads to increased political corruption. Neither of them applies to the Socialistic state. At present the government is regarded more and more as something distinct from the people. This is treason to the very idea of democracy. It is due largely to the influence of private capital which now controls public office. Politics are now a business, a big moneyed monopoly or trust, with its boss managers, board of directors, and stockholders, while the people, imagining themselves freemen, simply obey orders, having little voice in the management and receiving no dividends. So long as King Mammon, with Prince Caucus and Lord Tammany, presides over politics, severing the connection between the electors and elected, the State and government will be re-

¹ "Socialism," p. 56.

garded as distinct from the people, and the increase of officers will be accompanied with increased corruption.

Now let us change the conditions; let us blot out the mischievous idea that the State and the government are other than the people; let us establish the government that we applaud on paper, a *government of the people, by the people, and for the people*; then, when all the voters shall have a personal and patriotic interest in the conduct of affairs, the unscrupulousness or mere indifference of a public officer would be regarded, not as a clever manipulation of politics, but as the *rankest treason*. Nothing is more common than for those who make the charge of political corruption against Socialism to assume, when they desire to show how it would aggravate existing evils, that the Socialistic state would be the same as the existing one; but when they desire to show how existing good would be destroyed, that the nature of the State would be changed.

The spoils system is the second factor in political corruption. It is assumed also that this would continue to exist under Socialism, and bring forth the same evil fruits. This is a grave error. Every citizen will be a public functionary under Socialism, where, as in an army, all, from the highest to the lowest, are striving for one common object, and where, on account of the glory of the object and unity of interest, few are so base as not to condemn shirking and cowardice. No motive for personal effort is so powerful in the human breast as that produced by the union of a vast body of men struggling to achieve a noble end.

In a co-operative commonwealth, where all individual and collective interests and results depended largely on the efficiency of foremen and superintendents who are for the most part the officers, is it reasonable to suppose that on every election the experienced and efficient foremen would be dismissed to make places for office-seekers? Would voters whose food, clothing, housing, and all comforts and luxuries, were at stake be likely to acquiesce in such proceedings? The civil service which now puts a premium on corruption will reform itself when every citizen has a direct personal interest in its purity. No increase in the

number of officials would tend to corruption, when the offices ceased to be merely political institutions and hence venal; but were industrial positions held only on merit, by incumbents who were in immediate contact with the people and responsible to them, such a tenure of office, and the substitution of public for partisan administration, would leave no room or motive for political corruption.

It seems to be overlooked in considering the increase in the number of office-holders in the Socialistic state, that thousands and tens of thousands of offices now required by capitalism would be discontinued. A large per cent of sheriffs, constables, and other police officers, multitudes of tax assessors and collectors, clerks, attorneys, judges, etc., would be discharged. It is not contended, however, that the totality of public officials would not be largely increased. What is insisted on is, that under the changed conditions of Socialism an *increase* of offices is compatible with a *decrease* of political corruption, and not only compatible, but certain when the *motive* for all corruption has disappeared. The spoils system is the fruitful source of demagogism, official patronage, political fraud and jobbery. This unclean beast, Socialism would destroy and thus give a death blow to political corruption.

The third and all-important factor in political corruption is money. Money can be secretly handled and hoarded. By means of money political assessments can be levied; offices and officers bought and sold; a bank-note or coin can be slipped into the hands of a voter without observation. It is money and money alone that supports the lobby, corrupts legislation, bribes judges and jurors, and perverts justice. Indeed, without money political corruption could not exist for a day. Socialism abolishes money.

Now, the objection to Socialism on the ground that it opens the doors to prodigious political corruption, is based on the assumption that the institution of money will continue to exist and play the same part as under the present *régime*. The assumption is utterly groundless, and this is an end of the discussion. There is absolutely nothing further to be

said. With the abolition of money political corruption could no more exist than the lungs could be inflated without air.

XII. — *As to the Objection that Socialism is Impracticable.*

“The question, therefore, is not whether we have reached the perfection of character which would be necessary in order to a perfect working of the scheme of nationalization of industry, but whether we have reached such a degree of development as would make an imperfect working of the scheme possible.” — T. B. VEBBEN.

This is at once the strongest and the weakest objection urged against Socialism. The strongest, because it appeals to the cupidity of the rich, the timidity of the poor, the conservatism of the temporizer, and the disposition of men rather “to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.” It is the weakest, because it is utterly destitute of moral support.

We submit twelve considerations in answer to this objection.

1. The question is not one of mere expediency, but of right.

Were the question one of expediency merely, were it not that the alpha and omega of Socialism is none other than the eternal and immutable principle of social justice and right, the objection of impracticability might end the discussion, and capitalism, like *Æsop's* wolf, might continue unmolested to tear in pieces and feast upon the weak and innocent lambs of society; but in view of its ethical factor the objection has not a feather's weight. Given an institution containing ninety-nine parts of expediency and one part of injustice and that institution is doomed. Thoreau said, “One man with God on his side is in a majority.” There is more potency in a grain of *right* than in a ton of expediency. To deny this is to deny faith in God and in the right. The mills of the gods may grind slowly, but they grind surely. Rather than stand with the multitude in the wrong, I had rather with Noah stand solitary and alone in

the right, even though, as was the case with Noah, a hundred and twenty years elapsed before the right could be realized.

The men who have lifted human society have always stood alone. Solon and Socrates, Moses and Christ, Columbus, Galileo, and Luther were in the eyes of their wise contemporaries visionaries and Utopianists. Robert Fulton, the inventor of torpedoes and steam navigation, was officially pronounced "impracticable." Richard Arkwright was impracticable in attempting to invent the spinning-frame: he encountered the contempt, ridicule, and bitter hostility of his wiser and more conservative contemporaries. More than a score of acknowledged authorities on electricity wrote essays to prove that Edison's system of electrical lighting by means of incandescent lamps was utterly impracticable; meantime Edison was completely successful. Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin, of which Lord Macaulay said, "What Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin has more than equalled in its relation to the power and progress of the United States." The way of this industrial and social transgressor, however, was hard. He was "impracticable." "The rewards which he received for his invention of the cotton-gin were disheartening misfortunes, the loss of a lucrative and honorable profession, costly and troublesome law-suits, health shattered by worry and travel, a paltry grant from South Carolina, and — imperishable fame as one of the foremost figures in the history of industrial development."

Probably the most Utopian and impracticable scheme in the eyes of all the world was the attempt of the American Colonies to set up this Republic. There is no good thing extant, no beneficent institution, no established economy in any department of human life, that was not at its birth and during its infancy opposed as "impracticable," and denounced as the chimerical scheme of dreamers, by the great body of the wise, the wealthy, and the good.

The charge, therefore, that Socialism is impracticable will satisfy only those whose outlook is limited to immediate and temporary ends. These are by no means to be lost

sight of, but he has a frivolous heart and a shallow head who regards them as supreme and final.

2. Industrial justice is not impracticable.

Socialists would be satisfied with the establishment of industrial justice. Constructive Socialism is state control of industries *so far as is necessary to secure industrial justice*. Socialists would be abundantly satisfied with this measure of state control. If exclusive State control of all industries is advocated, it is only because it is supposed that the desired end could be reached by a change no less complete. It is, however, certain that whenever, in the progress of the movement, such end would be reached, Socialists would oppose any further interference by the State.

Let us examine some of the forms in which this charge of impracticability is made.

3. Socialism is not a Utopia.

Dr. Woolsey asks, "Is Socialism a mere Utopia, or can it be realized in the world?"¹ He answers that it is a Utopia, and assigns the five following reasons:

First. If the new faith is a law of nature, as Socialists claim, its progress must be measured not by years but by centuries; and in the mean time the evils of capitalism can be remedied by legislation. The answer is obvious. *Remedy by legislation is Socialism.* Dr. Woolsey thus erects the very Utopia charged against Socialism. The progress of this law of nature *has already been measured by three centuries*. The only question is, Has the fulness of time yet come?

Second. Socialists cannot persuade men that the present system plunders operatives, or that they would fare better at the hands of the State than they now do under private employers. It is sufficient to reply that men are *already persuaded of this plundering, and this is the sole immediate cause of the social question.*

Third. Socialism makes no provision for satisfying the demand for specific articles, nor for the mobility of labor, nor could it accommodate itself to the changing fashions and

¹ "Communism and Socialism," p. 276.

wants. As to furnishing specific articles, we reply that it will be time enough to furnish them when needed. Would any one oppose the founding of a college because as yet it had made no provision for teaching some particular branch of knowledge? As to the mobility of labor, it seems to be entirely overlooked that under Socialism the necessity for such mobility would disappear.

The curse inseparable from the present system is that it keeps laborers on the move; but it is assumed that, however it may be with a rolling stone, the only way for laborers to gather moss is to keep rolling. Socialism would not be able to accommodate itself to the "*changing fashions of society*." That, we reply, would be a consummation most devoutly to be wished. If Socialism would check the vanity, the waste, extravagance, and consequent demoralization of changing fashions, the State might well issue a thanksgiving proclamation closing with the patriotic and pious invocation, God save the Co-operative Commonwealth!

Fourth. Socialism will affect unfavorably the individual, the family, the government, morals, religion, and all spiritual and moral forces.

A mere assertion so inclusive and sweeping carries little weight. We have already treated at length its different elements. We do not believe that such would be the result of Socialism. If it was, would Socialism on that account be "impracticable"? Because under individualism these institutions suffer injuries, is individualism thereby rendered impracticable? Socialism might properly be opposed on this account, but not on the ground of impracticability.

Fifth. This change in society can be effected only by violence, in which case the advantage would be in favor of the existing order.

Dr. Woolsey failed to discover the temper of modern Socialism. It is not violent, but peaceful: it finds that "the pen is mightier than the sword." Socialism is being evolved and daily approved even by those who but yesterday opposed it. It is true that the existing order always has an advantage; but we have read history to little purpose if such advantage can be relied upon to prevent the

most radical social revolutions, whether peaceful or violent. That Socialism could only be brought about by violence is an assumption shown to be unfounded by the rapid and peaceful advance Socialism is everywhere making.

This charge of impracticability by Dr. Woolsey is one of the most formal and specific that we have ever seen. We submit to the candid reader that it is not sustained by either or all of the reasons assigned.

4. History furnishes no evidence that Socialism is impracticable.

The popular manner in which this objection is made is well illustrated by the hasty statements of an influential newspaper: "Every race, tribe, and nation has tried the nationalist business in some form, at some time. The first pressure broke its fastenings in every instance."¹

If this were true it might with equal propriety be said of past republics. It was the argument confidently relied upon by the Tories to show the futility of the attempt to establish the American Republic. But it is not true. The nationalism now advocated is by a people free, intelligent, and moral; a people who have attained a high degree of industrial development; in a word, a people highly civilized and prepared for an advanced social *régime*. Would the writer quoted pretend that state Socialism under such conditions was ever before attempted? If not, what weight should attach to his statement? Success in any experiment waits upon conditions. The historical precedents to which he refers were either mere communistic societies within the State, of which we have had no less than seventy-two in our own country, or the joint interests of wandering tribes of savages, or the feudalistic *régime* of ancient Sparta, or the communes of primitive and semi-civilized peoples.

Dr. Woolsey, who, as we have seen, opposes Socialism by arguments drawn from all plausible sources, is careful to say, "History has no voice to utter concerning *communistic states*."²

5. Social progress tends to solidarity and hence to a practical Socialism.

¹ "Kansas City Times" as quoted in "Public Opinion," January, 1890.

² "Communism and Socialism," p. 22.

History and especially psychology show that as men advance they develop the same desires and faculties. Notwithstanding this law the article before referred to asks, "Do you say that the nation's present unfitness for the system is no bar to an expectation that it may be [fit] before long? the fatal objection to that view is that the more men develop the more they differentiate. Desires, faculties, and points of view, become more and more varied, complicated, and inexplicable." Then, in Heaven's name let us stop this differentiation before we all have each other by the ears. It is not true, however, that as men develop they "differentiate" so as to be less able to live together in peace. Exactly the opposite is the fact. The present differentiation is due to the fact that *some have not developed, have had no chance to develop*, while others have been more fortunate. The idea that men are to grow unlike by development antagonizes all history. There is a unity, a oneness, to be attained not only in the kingdom of heaven, but in the kingdom of earth, which all good men hope and pray for. Human solidarity in religion demands a solidarity in economic and social relations. In such union there is perfect freedom in the exercise of all proper personal tastes, desires, and faculties. The reason, says Professor Francis A. Walker, why the skulls of civilized men "contain more than thirty ounces of brain matter, and their foreheads slope backwards at an angle of more than forty-five degrees,"¹ is not because under equal conditions "the more men develop the more they differentiate," but because the one class has had the benefit of the principle of competition, while the other class, from the absence of proper conditions, has developed scarcely at all. What shall be said when the opponents of Socialism differ so essentially among themselves? One says, "Historical precedents settle this Utopian scheme." Dr. Woolsey replies, "History has no voice to utter concerning communistic states." One says, "Men differentiate as they develop." Professor Walker claims that the difference is because *one class has and the other has not developed*. Dr. Washington Gladden says,

¹ "The Atlantic Monthly," February, 1890.

"Competition means war,"¹ while Professor Walker says, "It is God's maxim."² When the opponents of Socialism flounder around in this fashion, it shows that the supply of valid arguments falls far short of the demand.

6. Selfishness is not the only practicable principle.

In a single sentence the article to which we have called attention³ pays homage to the principle which is essential to the integrity of capitalism. That principle is selfishness. It says, "Selfishness has scarcely been diminished by the thousands of years during which what we label civilization has been staggering forward and slipping backward." All prosperity, it seems, is due to selfishness. "Selfishness has produced our laws, our railroads, our poems, and our public schools," and would he not add our religion? We had supposed that at least public schools, along with our liberty and religion, had been produced in spite of selfishness. We admire the candor, but deplore the cussedness, of this admission. We are perfectly willing to have the issue joined on this question: Shall selfishness be made the basal principle of all economic activity?

7. The impracticability of Communism should not be attributed to Socialism.

It is necessary to guard against the sophistry of critics in confounding Socialism with Communism. They have many features in common, just as men and brutes have all the senses in common, but they differ as much as men differ from brutes. The immortal soul of Socialism is justice, the breath of life of Communism is equality. The first move that the capitalistic player on the social chessboard makes, is to confound Socialism with Communism, or if he makes a distinction he immediately proceeds to disregard it. Every conclusion against Communism is naively applied to Socialism. Against this well-known fallacy *ignoratio elenchi*, answering to the wrong point, we protest. Communism demands equality at the expense of justice; Socialism demands justice with that degree of equality

¹ "Applied Christianity," p. 104.

² "Atlantic Monthly," February, 1890.

³ In "Public Opinion," January, 1890.

necessary to insure it. Communism would supply men's wants whether they worked or not; Socialism would supply their wants according as they worked, but it would *insist* on work for all. The former would extend the principle of community not only to political and industrial life, but to domestic relations; the latter would limit it to industry, and apply it even here only so far as justice required. Communism would destroy individuality; Socialism would destroy individualism. Communism would rob men of that degree of personal liberty essential to individual incentive and social progress; Socialism would say to every man: "You must engage in some kind of work, and earn a decent subsistence so as not to menace society by dirt, disease, and deviltry. Beyond that, your condition, reputation, honor, and happiness generally depend upon your own exertions." Socialism also says that there is abundant room and incentive here for the exercise of all healthy motives, without the stimulus of accumulating private property in order to differentiate one's self from his fellows and at their expense. Other important differences exist between Communism and Socialism. We have contrasted them here for the simple purpose of exposing the sophistical trick of considering them as one and the same in order to discredit Socialism. Communism has by general consent had leave to withdraw.

8. The practicability of Socialism does not depend on minor details.

To this same fallacy of answering to the wrong point must be referred all those arguments against the practicability of Socialism derived from the criticism of minor details, such, for example, as are set forth in "Looking Backward." It is amusing to observe the supercilious, condescending tone of the critics of this work, which is more widely known and is influencing more thoughtful minds than all its critics combined, and the wisdom and prophecy of which will continue to command the attention of men when most of these censors shall have been forgotten. This is, however, not because of the value of any or all of its details, which are wholly gratuitous, but because

it enthrones God and Humanity where Mammon and Covetousness have sat undisturbed for millenniums.

Nothing is more common, however, than to overthrow some detail, or criticise some unessential feature, and then infer that Socialism is demolished. For example, we have before us an article by Professor F. A. Walker, one of our foremost political economists, declaring that Mr. Bellamy's State in "Looking Backward" is a "wild weak dream" because forsooth a century or less is too brief a space in which to effect changes so vast. The critic might as well have characterized the attempt to suppress the rebellion as a "wild weak dream" because Lincoln supposed three months to be sufficient. He regards it as also chimerical, because he is able to show that Mr. Bellamy's analogy between a military and an industrial army breaks down at several points; and because he finds in the story certain features, as the "absolute equality of conditions," or too great freedom from "cares that cark," overdrawn. Does any one really suppose that Mr. Bellamy's Socialistic state, founded upon great moral, political, and industrial principles which are its crown of glory, is dependent upon the literal application and operation of these subordinate and wholly gratuitous features? Shall these and similar arguments by critics be regarded as touching the real issue? The same line of argument which rejects the truth of a romance or allegory because of fiction or imperfection in their drapery, would compel him to characterize "Paradise Lost," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Alton Locke," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the parables of Jesus as "wild weak dreams."

9. Socialism does not encourage idleness.

It is charged that Socialism is impracticable because it represents men and women as being able to live in luxury and without toil. "Can Socialism repeal the law that men shall eat bread in the sweat of their brows?" Shall it tell working men "that the commonest and most obscure laborer will live if he chooses in dwellings as beautiful and convenient as any which are now monopolized by the wealthy"?

The authors of these questions answer them by gravely

showing that work is a law of nature; that only Indian tribes or savages can live without toil, and that individual character, development, and social progress depend on the homely virtues of industry, thrift, and sacrifice.

Now, all this is the grossest caricature of Socialism. Its corner-stone is *work for all and all for work*. It does seek to equalize burdens by relieving the overworked, and asking the able-bodied idler in society either to lend a hand or be kind enough to die. We deny that Socialism, as its enemies represent, seeks or expects any such Elysian fields and perennial fountains of nectar here on earth. There is not a Socialistic platform extant, there is not an utterance of a leading Socialistic writer, that can be quoted directly or indirectly in support of this view, save perhaps the single exception of Him who said, "Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body what ye shall put on."¹ But Socialists generally, whatever may be true of their opponents, have not Christian faith enough to expect an economic paradise where all anxiety for one's material welfare will disappear.

10. Socialism need not be introduced at once.

Socialism cannot be regarded as impracticable because certain of its friends have been sanguine enough to believe that it could be introduced in a comparatively short period. This might indeed be impracticable, while the ultimate fact is none the less feasible. Nothing is more uncertain than the time element in forecasting social movements. So many and different factors, seen and unseen, enter into the problem, that while prediction is often folly, the culmination is frequently precipitated to the astonishment of every one.

11. Socialism does not interfere with personal and private concerns of life.

In refuting this charge against Socialism we have in mind a Socialistic state which allows the largest exercise of individual liberty consistent with social justice. This, however, is not what the enemies of Socialism intend. They first represent Socialism as necessarily an interfer-

¹ Matthew vi. 25.

ence on the part of the State, not only in matters of industry, but in all the most personal and private concerns of life. They assure us that the State would arbitrarily decide not only individual occupations, wages, and other conditions of work, but also what and how much each man shall eat, drink, and wear; when and whom he shall marry; how many children he may rear; in short, he can lie down, rise up, gape, and sneeze only at the dictation of the State. After thus representing the Socialistic state as one in which every vestige of liberty is lost, in which all citizens like dumb cattle are hampered, have rings in their noses, and are hitched by governmental halters to the public barracks to nibble at the national haystacks, it is generally asserted that this theory is impracticable. A free people will not submit to it. Socialists are beside themselves. With many this sort of logic is conclusive of the whole matter. It is a sufficient answer to say that this whole conception of Socialism is as inadequate and ridiculous as was the ancient definition of man as a "two-legged animal without feathers."

The co-operative commonwealth in no way interferes with the free exercise of individual tastes, desires, and preferences in all private and domestic affairs. Moreover, it interferes with the possession of economic goods *only so far as is necessary to secure social justice and the public good.*

Those who contend that Socialism is impracticable are bound to show either that its ethical claims can be realized under capitalism, or that no injustice is essentially involved in the present system of production and distribution. Few have the hardihood to maintain the latter; and hence most writers on economic questions, while upholding capitalism, seek to devise ways and means of mitigating its evils. That these evils, as Socialists claim, are inherent in the system, is evident from the fact that nearly every measure proposed is in the direction of Socialism, and when such measures are carried far enough to effectually remove existing wrongs the result is Socialism.

12. The impracticable is being realized.

Nothing is more common than to find the advocates of

capitalism sanctioning and even proposing measures that are purely Socialistic in spirit, purpose, and tendency. Such are all proposals for state, municipal, or social control of industrial affairs. To this extent the impracticable is being continually realized, and the prospect is that in the near future a large amount of this impracticability will be an actual fact.

13. The present ideal is always the future practicability.

As we remarked at the outset, in discussing this charge it is the weakest of all objections against Socialism, because it is not only without ethical support, but it is sustained by arguments essentially vicious. Let it be conceded that the great end of Socialism is justice; what is the moral quality of such statements as these? — "We must take men as they are." "We should all be Socialists if we could eliminate selfishness." "If it were a question as to a possible ideal state of society, we should all be Socialists." Had we not better set before us an ideal and follow it, even though we follow it afar off? Was anything great or good ever achieved that was not inspired by an ideal? Will any one deny that we owe our best efforts, our highest aims and brightest hopes, all generous and philanthropic endeavor, all advance in art and science, all educational, social, and moral culture, in a word all progress and civilization, to noble ideals? Every beneficent institution that exists was once ideal before it was real. Our system of education, from the common school to the college, existed at first only in fancy. The judiciary of England and America, the most perfect piece of social mechanism the world has ever seen, was once purely visionary. The wildest dreams of philanthropic reformers at the dawn of modern history never pictured the magnificent eleemosynary institutions now maintained at the public expense. Not only Aristotle, but Jefferson Davis with millions of followers, supposed slavery to be a law of nature as unalterable as the law of gravitation. The most Utopian scheme conceivable only three decades ago was the emancipation of the American slave. Democracy itself almost within the memory of man was regarded by the civilized world as the most compli-

cated, visionary, and revolutionary project ever hatched by the disordered brain of man. *Vox populi non semper vox Dei*. The reverse, however, the voice of God is always the voice of the people, is true in the long run. It is not claimed that Socialism can be realized in a day, or perhaps in a century; but that man is oblivious to the teachings of history who on this account regards it as impracticable. A movement that has God and humanity behind it, that pays supreme homage to truth, justice, and mercy, will not be seriously discounted because it is as yet ideal. The Decalogue might be opposed on the same ground and with equal propriety. It was and still is an ideal. Is it less valuable on this account? What the pillar of fire was to the Israelites, what the compass is to the mariner, what the sun is to the universe, such is the Decalogue to the human race. True, it may not be fully realized, but it can be approximated, and all human thought and endeavor should be a struggle toward it. Will our critics oppose the Decalogue on the ground that "we must take men as they are"? This is one of the devil's maxims. We do not propose to "take men as they are;" we do not propose to take ourselves as we are, so long as there is a higher ideal, something better to be attained. There is a sense of course in which this saying is true. To accomplish immediate, practical results we must make use of the material at hand; but the maxim has no sympathy with progress; nay, it is the enemy of all moral, social, and economic reform. Where is the Christian minister or moralist who dares stand forth and say, "My friends, this thing is *right*, but it is not practicable." What is intended by the statement, "We should all be Socialists if we could eliminate selfishness"? Are we not bound to try to eliminate selfishness? Is there any higher or nobler end to work for? Is Socialism to be rejected because it sets before it this ideal? Many of those who oppose this objection to Socialism profess to believe, in company with the entire Christian Church, in the millennium, and profess to be hoping and working for its advent. But what is the millennium at present but a "possible ideal state," a place where selfishness will be eliminated,

and a state that can only be reached by *not* taking "men as we find them"? It is in order for these critics to show that the millennium is not practicable. Their logical quiver is full of argumentative arrows ready for use, of which the following are samples: The millennium supposes a state of society that "is contrary to all human experience." It is impossible "from the constitution of man and the very nature of things." "We must take men as we find them." The millennium is "optimistic and visionary. It is not necessary, because the evils of the present system," the *régime* of selfishness and sin, "can be remedied by legislation." The millennium "does not show how wages will increase, neither does it make any provision for the mobility of labor." As *unselfishness* and human brotherhood must be actually realized in the millennium, is not this the end of the argument? "Selfishness has scarcely been diminished by the thousands of years" of our civilization. "Equality of conditions demanded by the" millennium "can exist only among miserable imbruted savages." "In such a state the man whose strength enables him to produce the most can have no more than others; thus he is compelled to work half his time for others. This is slavery and robbery. Can we approve" a millennium "in which such flagrant dishonesty exists"? "Besides a state" like the millennium, "in which the conditions of life should cease to be arduous and stern, is not desirable." Let us have "more competition," more of the grand economic principle of the survival of the fittest, more of that law of liberty which guarantees to the strong man "the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own benefit" and leaves the weak to take the "consequences of his weakness." The millennium is "a wild weak dream." It is not responsive to say, this is what it comes to after all, the millennium is about as probable and practical as Socialism. This is not now in question. The point is, that men who believe in the millennium, proclaim themselves its adherents, claim to shape their thought and conduct so as to hasten its advent, and feel scandalized to hear it characterized as Utopian and impracticable, do not hesitate to em-

ploy the foregoing language in characterizing Socialism, which is but a single step in the direction of the millennium, and to human ken a hundred times nearer and more practicable. Every argument hurled against Socialism which they oppose, smites with tenfold more force the millennium in which they believe. It seems not to have occurred to these gentlemen that there is anything inconsistent in advocating a system of ethics that hastens the millennium, and a system of political economy that hinders it. This argument, indeed, has force only with those who believe in a millennium. Those who reject such belief are comparatively few. As certain as God exists and governs the world he has created, so certain is it that ultimately right must triumph over wrong, truth over error, virtue over vice, love over hate, and happiness over misery; and when social justice is thus crowned king the millennium has come. That only is a sound and healthy economy, whether political, social, or moral, which sets before it this ideal, and labors unswervingly for its realization.

CHAPTER VIII.

REVELATION AND OUTLOOK OF SOCIALISM.

"The future belongs to the purified Socialism." — ALBERT SCHÄFFLE.

"On the irresistible momentum of these two inevitable and ever-growing forces — the concentration of industry and the growth of the new democracy — Socialism depends for the realization of its scheme of transformation." — *Encyclopædia Britannica*. "Socialism."

WILL Socialism be realized? This is a vital question.

If the industrial disturbance is only temporary, a mere excrescence of a social system that is on the whole healthy and natural, it will soon be removed by absorption or a little capitalistic surgery. If, on the other hand, the great labor rebellion, embracing all civilized countries, is not founded upon mere caprice or temporary wrongs, but upon the changed conditions of society; if the old social garment is outworn and outgrown, then all attempts to patch it by putting new cloth to it will ere long only make the rent worse.

Many causes, some of which we have mentioned in chapter II. have been operating to produce the present crisis. To-day we are witnessing not so much a revolution as an epochal period in industrial evolution. We should look forward and not backward. But will Socialism ever become a fact? We do not hesitate to affirm that the evils it opposes will be abolished, and the good it seeks will be realized. Every step to this end will be Socialistic, and the result will be Socialism or all that Socialism demands. As Christianity is bound to be realized, although it may never permanently and unalterably crystallize in any particular form, so Socialism may not take on any particular form now proposed and still be realized. If it is a *régime* which best meets the new and better civilization, which best satisfies the new conception of the State and its proper

functions, of the idea of right and social justice which now prevails, of the universal brotherhood of man, and of the solidarity of society, then Socialism, whatever name or form it may assume, is an inevitable and ultimate fact.

The prejudice against the term has led to the adoption in this country of the word Nationalism, which is a happy synonym of Socialism.

It is amusing as it is common to meet with people who can hardly conceal their impatience at the mention of Socialism, yet heartily approve every one of its principles. This prejudice, however, is rapidly disappearing as is evident from the friendly attitude of thoughtful minds toward the new order.

I. — *Growth and Numerical Strength of Socialism.*

"In scientific garb Socialism is transforming politics and is occupying the greater number of professorial chairs in Germany and Italy.

Under the form of State Socialism it sits in the council-chamber of sovereigns; and finally under a Christian form it is making its influence felt in the hearts of the Catholic clergy, and still more in the hearts of different Protestant denominations." — LAVELEYE.

The rapid spread of Socialism is phenomenal; history records nothing like it. It no sooner enters a country than it captures the moral sentiment of the people. It can repeat the famous apothegm of Cæsar, *Veni, vidi, vici*. A decade since it had hardly an adherent in the United States; now it numbers millions openly or secretly in sympathy with its leading principles.

Socialism pays no regard to local or national boundaries. This is one of its characteristic features. It is a world economy. This is because its leading principles are universal and immutable truths, which have heretofore been supposed to have no application to questions of labor and capital, or to the organization of industrial forces, but which are now seen to afford the only proper basis for an industrial system. This amounts to a new discovery; a discovery the grandest and most beneficial ever made by man. It will transform society, result in a new industrial world, and make possible to the race a higher civilization.

It is impossible to estimate the total number of Socialists. A competent witness testified nearly six years ago, before an immigration committee in New York, that there were 50,000,000 Socialists in Europe, and 2,000,000 extremists in this country. So rapidly is the movement gaining ground that an estimate to-day would be too small to-morrow. But while we have no exact data for estimating the total number of Socialists, we have certain facts and figures which give us some idea of the rapid progress they are making.

They have increased in Germany at the average rate of 600,000 annually, or 1,644 daily for the last seven years. To-day Germany contains not less than 8,000,000 avowed Socialists, which is more than one-sixth the entire population. It is fair to presume that 3,000,000 more who have not openly avowed themselves Socialists are in sympathy with the movement. Probably the actual gain has been nearly 1,000,000 per annum. At this rate of increase, should the population remain stationary, Germany would be Socialistic by a clear majority in fourteen years, and in twenty-eight years every man, woman, and child in the empire would be a Socialist. Counter movements cannot be foreseen, but at present all social forces in Germany indicate that this rate of increase will be accelerated rather than retarded.

In England, while Socialism is less forward than in Germany, it has even a broader foundation. The tree in Germany has been allowed to top out as its roots and trunk developed, while in England it has been cut back, its branches pruned and buds pinched, which has resulted in strengthening the foundations till its roots have honey-combed the whole social organism.

Hardly a change is adopted or a measure proposed in politics, law, education, industry, or religion, that is not, however disguised, thoroughly Socialistic in its tendency.

We believe that notwithstanding the political forwardness of German Socialism, general public sentiment favorable to Socialistic principles is farther advanced in England than in Germany; only in the latter country the

movement is called Socialism, while in England the word is hardly yet used in a good sense.

While Englishmen have been ridiculing Socialism as a mere "Utopia," a social bubble of half-crazed Frenchmen long since exploded, they have been advocating and adopting its principles with a zeal and rapidity unequalled by any other people. This is largely due to propagandist organizations of which there are many. The oldest and most important was the "Democratic Federation," founded in 1881, and which two years later adopted its present name of the "Social Democratic Federation." "Under this title it became a propagandist organization of great effect in London, and many of the provincial industrial centres having scores of energetic and self-supporting local branches." It numbers among its members scholars, orators, and authors of note.

The "Socialistic League," founded in 1883 by Mr. William Morris, the "Fabian Society," founded the same year, and the "Christian Socialists Society," are popular organizations whose influence by means of books, newspapers, tracts, and lectures is felt far and near. Besides these a large number of local societies are scattered throughout the country.

Scotland has Socialistic societies in all the industrial centres. The movement is also spreading in Ireland.

We have no means of estimating the total number of Socialists in England. Any mere numerical estimate, however, would be of little use, for by far the greater number of Socialists do not avow themselves such, partly because of the prejudice against the word due to its suggestion of revolution and violence, partly because the advocates of Socialism have prematurely raised issues respecting matters of mere detail, and partly because they are not aware of the identity between Socialistic movements and the social reform everywhere in progress.

Perhaps not one of the 500,000 working men who recently marched into Hyde Park and demanded the recognition of their rights, called himself a Socialist, and yet every movement of Socialism may count on their hearty support.

France for the past twenty years has been engaged in laying the foundations of the Republic upon the ruins of the Empire. The attention of her people has been absorbed in the creating of new institutions, and in the adjustment of old ones to a republican form of government.

Socialism, therefore, as a distinct social or political issue has received less attention than in some other countries. It is not to be inferred on this account that Socialism is extinct in France; on the contrary, there are probably more Socialists in France in proportion to its population than in any other country. De Laveleye, a most competent judge, says that a majority of workmen in France are Socialists;¹ and it is a fact worthy of notice that this majority is composed of the most skilled, intelligent, and thrifty class of laborers.

Already, according to De Laveleye, there are among the laborers alone 6,000,000 Socialists in France. Popular liberty will soon enable them to make their voice heard. Already the feeling of security from the plots of imperialists, monarchists, and demagogues has been followed by Socialistic movements.

Russian Nihilism is not Socialism; but as the most violent thunder-storm is succeeded by the rainbow, so Nihilism will yield to Socialism.

The Nihilist is the product of political tyranny. Russia has educated her youth, then forbidden them to think; she has given the people liberty, then forbidden them to exercise it; thus while the social atmosphere is charged with democracy the people are bound and gagged.

In addition to this the worst form of industrial oppression is rigidly maintained by the upper classes, and backed by political and all other dominant forces of society. To murmur means Siberia; to protest means death. The result, which in England or America would be a bloody revolution, is in Russia Nihilism, which destroys less property and sheds less blood. The American or Englishman who is shocked at the methods of the Nihilist would, were he forced to change places with him, be the first to

¹ "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 154.

adopt them. Assassination is indeed terrible, but tyranny is more so; and when this becomes so intolerable that rather than endure it, the sacrifice of property, and even torture and death, are preferred, we must pity the sufferers though we are shocked at their methods of last resort.

Let us remember that the Russian Nihilist has no redress for his wrongs. The law is against him; the press, the platform, all freedom of speech, are denied him. He must tamely submit to the most cruel injustice, and if he dares to object he must speak in a whisper, move in secret and even then at his peril. He has therefore no choice as to his mode of warfare; it is Nihilism or hopeless slavery.

Under unsupportable wrong men have always been a law unto themselves. God himself winked at certain sins although he did not thereby approve.

Liberty will wink at the desperate deeds of men struggling to be free. Good motives and bad methods often go together. Moral quality attaches to motives. The end may not justify the means, but it must be considered in pronouncing judgment. The ~~era~~ use of dynamite and daggers, of poison and incendiarism, cannot long continue. For this, history, experience, and particularly the nineteenth century, stand pledged.

Nihilism is an abnormal or transitional phenomenon due to social conditions of peculiar aggravation; it cannot endure; already the signs of wiser counsels and more conservative methods begin to appear.

We call attention to Russian Nihilism because in the social evolution its next stage will be Socialism. It is, therefore, an important factor in considering the outlook of Socialism.

We may form some estimate of what the Russian Socialist will be from the present character of Nihilist men and women, when a friendly voice shall be heard saying to them as the Master said to Peter: "Put up again thy sword into his place; for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword."¹ The Nihilists are found in all ranks of society. Their principles are their religion. While this

¹ Matt. xxvi. 52.

is not enough we are free to say that any religion without these principles, whatever label it bears, is in so far a sham. Herein lie the power and prophecy of Nihilism. The zeal and devotion of its leaders are remarkable. They are ready to die for their cause, and scores have died as triumphantly and exultingly as did the Christian martyrs. Here is grand material for candidates for any cause. "In all the conspiracies there we find rich and cultured women, even daughters of state functionaries, of military officers, and of nobles. The secret is so well kept that when the police lay hands on the Nihilists they never succeed in tracking out the main body of the association from the fragment that they seize. The Nihilists penetrate everywhere; they shrink from no means of executing the sentence of the secret tribunal. When they are shot or hanged they die without repenting, and they defy both judge and executioner."¹ Many of the noblest spirits among Russian youths are enthusiastic in this movement. They are found especially in the higher institutions of learning, a fact of great significance.

The following is among the examples given by Laveleye: Among several of the young men joining the new order at one time "was a student of the Academy of Agriculture, named Ivanoff, who was devoting himself to works of charity with the exultation of a saint. He was much esteemed by his fellow-students, and had great influence among them. He had organized aid funds for poor students; he used to devote all his spare time to teaching the children of the peasants, and he habitually stinted himself in order to give to others. He believed, however, that individual beneficence could only assist a few unfortunates, and that nothing but a social revolution could put an end to the misery that exists. Netchaïeff and Ivanoff did not long pull together. Netchaïeff had some revolutionary proclamations posted up in the cheap boarding-houses that Ivanoff had organized for poor students. These were in consequence shut up, and the managers sent into exile. Ivanoff was much distressed at this, and announced his

¹ "Socialism of To-day" (Laveleye), pp. 205, 206.

intention of quitting the association. Then, in fear lest he should betray the secret, Netchaieff and two other members, Pryoff and Nicolaieff, though hitherto friends of Ivanoff, enticed him one evening into a quiet garden, under pretext of digging up a secret press, and then they shot him dead with a revolver and threw his body into a pond." ¹

Socialism in our own country is daily winning adherents to its principles. Many of its ardent supporters, however, do not appropriate the name. Edward Bellamy, for example, prefers to be called a Nationalist; Helen Campbell, who unhesitatingly declared to the writer her belief in Socialism, is not known as a Socialist. These authors and writers are representative of a large number who are devoting their talents and their means to Socialistic propaganda while Socialism is rarely named in connection with their work.

Any accurate numerical estimate of Socialists in the United States is therefore impossible. About five years ago Professor R. T. Ely said, "There might be half a million adherents of the general principles of moderate and peaceful Socialism." ² Since that time the movement has spread with a rapidity unparalleled in any other country or time. There are a dozen Socialists now where there was one then.

What we have prophesied of Nihilism in Russia and elsewhere has already taken place here. Many of the Nihilists and revolutionists of yesterday, as it were, are now peaceful Socialists. President Seelye of Amherst College, said about six years ago: "There are probably 100,000 men in the United States to-day whose animosity against all existing social institutions is hardly less than boundless." A large per cent of these 100,000 are now adherents of peaceful Socialism.

The International Workingmen's Association, minus its anarchy which is rapidly disappearing, will become Socialistic. They claim to number 25,000 men. Six years ago

¹ "Socialism of To-day" (Laveleye), p. 207.

² "The Labor Movement in America," p. 282.

Professor Ely estimated the adherents of the Socialistic Labor party in the United States as about 10,000.

The growth of Socialism may be inferred from the multiplication of labor organizations during the last few years. They have spread over the country and through all ranks of laborers with a rapidity that has constantly engaged public attention. Their members do not avow themselves Socialists, and some might object to being classified with them, but their aims and demands are thoroughly Socialistic. The "Knights of Labor" numbered at one time 800,000 members. Of their "Declaration of Principles" Professor Ely says it "means undoubtedly Socialism if one draws the logical conclusion of their statements." Yet he justly admits that some of them are violently opposed to the theory of Socialism.

We have, however, before noticed the significant fact that many who oppose Socialism are fighting manfully for its principles.

We shall show the growth of Socialistic ideas in different departments of the social organism. The numerical increase, great as it has been, is perhaps the least significant. We ought, however, to bear in mind the world-wide extent of this movement. It embraces nearly all lands and tongues. The meeting of the "International" in 1881 was attended by "fifty-four delegates, representing three hundred and twenty 'divisions' or groups composed of 600,000 members. The countries represented were France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, Siberia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Turkey, Egypt, England, Mexico, and the United States."¹ Probably no body of men was ever convened so representative of the race. No congress was ever more entitled to be called "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." It shows unmistakably that the dissatisfaction with the present industrial organization of society is not only increasing, but is universal and irrepressible. Is it wise in our zeal for individualism, or through prejudice against Socialism, or indifference to the wrongs of working men, to deny the significance of such a gathering and sneer at its results?

¹ "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 253.

II. — *Political Gains of Socialism.*

"While schools are faithfully inculcating '*laissez-faire*,' the interference of government in finance, education, railways, labor, has been steadily increasing for a generation. . . . Government cannot *let alone*, and the most difficult problem of the future economist is to place the proper limits to public economy." — WILLIAM W. FOLWEL.

"Under the old civilization no one questioned the rich man's peaceful possession of his property but the king and the brigand. Under the new civilization, legislation tends toward the appropriation or the direction of the disposition of estates." — CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Few people are aware of the progress Socialism is making in politics. Quietly and almost unconsciously the State is extending its authority in all social and industrial activities. It is not our purpose to trace the rise and history of any particular class of legislation respecting capital or labor, but rather to call attention to certain measures and movements that show unmistakably the Socialistic trend of political forces.

1. Political progress in Germany.

At the present time the gaze of Europe and America is fixed upon Germany and its emperor. The latter has made the following remarkable declaration: "It is the duty of the State to so regulate the duration and nature of labor as to insure the health, the morality, and the supply of all the economic wants of the working man." Whatever be the motive that prompted this utterance, or however it may be interpreted, it involves the whole of Socialism pure and simple. It is the most staggering blow the doctrine of *laissez-faire* has yet received.

Like a thunder-bolt from Zeus it has shaken to its centre the institution of capitalism.

Thus the young emperor signalizes his accession to the imperial throne by becoming the champion of Socialism. With a keen appreciation of the wrongs which capitalism is inflicting upon laborers, he not only called upon his state councillors to investigate the labor question, but boldly invited the nations of Europe to meet in congress to consult upon measures for the relief of laborers.

Accordingly in March, 1890, a great labor congress was held in Berlin, at which distinguished representatives from Great Britain, France, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Denmark were present. For two weeks the congress was in session, and the result was a series of resolutions in the interest of labor.

The congress recommended that women and children be not allowed to work in mines or at night; that women should not work per day for a longer period than eleven hours, or children under fourteen more than six; that the latter should not work at all in dangerous or unhealthy trades, and that all unnecessary work on Sunday should be prohibited.

Thus the great powers of Europe have united in a protest against certain forms of capitalistic oppression.

Capitalistic public opinion of course speaks respectfully and even commendatorily of this congress and its resolutions, but it greatly underestimates its importance. No deliverance by any body of men was ever more significant. It shows unmistakably the trend of social forces; it deals a deadly blow at *laissez-faire*; it recognizes the wrongs of labor, the abuses of capital, and points to the coming crisis when radical changes will be necessary to meet the new social conditions.

William II. believes in state control of industries so far as necessary to secure social justice. This as we have said is Socialism.

It doubtless is true that his Socialism is imperial rather than democratic, that is, that he would do everything *for* the people rather than *by* them. His imperialism, however, is temporary. It was to be expected; it is both hereditary and traditional, but it will decrease, while democracy will increase. The progress of republican ideas in Europe is a sure pledge of ultimate triumph. No people in the world are more capable of or riper for democracy than the Germans.

The election which followed the Emperor's rescripts resulted in a great victory for the social democratic party.

Sixty socialists were elected to the Reichstag, which is more than one-seventh of that entire body. This result following the rejection of the anti-Socialist bill shows the increasing importance of Socialism as a political issue.

This is the more extraordinary in view of the fact that for more than a decade the government has sought by controlling the press, prohibiting freedom of speech, and banishment, to suppress Socialism.

In the following election, however, it was the burning question in the contest, and the result was a Socialistic vote more than twice as large as ever before cast. Observe the political gains of Socialism in Germany.

"Since the organization of the German Empire, the social democratic votes for members of the Imperial Parliament (Reichstag) have numbered as follows: 1871, 123,975; 1874, 351,952; 1877, 493,288; 1878, 437,158. The entire number of votes cast in 1877 was 5,401,021. The social democratic votes numbered over one-eleventh of all the voters in that year."¹ In 1884 the Socialists cast 700,000 votes, of which Berlin alone polled 68,000. But in 1890 the total Socialistic vote went up to 1,500,000. The most rapid progress has been made during the last three years, and the Socialists doubled their vote in the recent election. Nearly one-sixth of all the voters were Socialists. In Berlin they increased their vote by 33,000. These voters represent the political sentiments of a much larger part of the population than the mere number of votes would indicate, as the men become Socialists in sympathy and sentiment before they are willing to give political expression to their views. It is to be noted also that, while the German government has sought to suppress the social democrats, it has in its own way boldly espoused the cause of Socialism. Bismarck himself proposed several measures, notably the Accident Insurance Bill for the relief of laborers, and formally declared that the State should take better care of its poorer members.

The Socialism of the emperor is imperial, while that of the people is democratic, and this explains the cause of the

¹ "French and German Socialism" (Ely), p. 213.

bitter contest between the two parties. The recent political movement toward Socialism both on the part of the government and the social democrats of Germany cannot fail to have upon other nations results the most far-reaching and favorable to Socialism.

M. Jules Simon, one of the foremost statesmen of France and a delegate to the Berlin Conference, speaks as follows: "I regard the emperor's rescript as marking an important epoch in the progress of the Socialistic movement. Already I can hear the mutterings of what must be the struggle of the future; the bitter struggle between the many and the few; between the toiling millions who have thus far suffered silently and those who have made them suffer; between capital and labor; between luxury and starvation; between misery and wealth. No human being can avert that struggle, but human power may do much to hasten its approach. I shall not see the day, and you may not see it, but the day is coming when the autocratic powers of Europe will be forced to unite against a united Socialistic army and to stand or fall together."

2. Political progress in England.

The most remarkable feature of political Socialism both in England and the United States is its theoretical rejection accompanied by its practical adoption. It is not uncommon both in the English parliament and the American legislature to hear statesmen who would resent the charge of being Socialists strenuously urging the adoption of measures controlling the movements of capital and labor, which is the fundamental principle of political Socialism.

Since the first Factory Act in 1802 England has witnessed an ever-widening stream of legislation, interfering with the movements of labor and capital, till it may now be said that the broad principle laid down by Jevons has been adopted by the English legislator. No "rights of property are so sacred that they may not be made way with" to promote "the greatest happiness." He does not say "*the greatest happiness of the greatest number*;" a vicious and cruel maxim that sacrifices the weak to the strong, and is guilty of the blood of millions.

While the industrial system still rests upon the institutions of capital, contract, and competition, in the main free and individual, there is hardly any point in connection with them that English Socialistic legislation has not touched, and in cases of industrial injustice does not threaten.

The progress of political Socialism in England is vividly portrayed by Sidney Webb in his "Socialism in England." He says that the zenith of industrial individualism was reached in the beginning of the present century, and beginning with the Factory Act of 1802 already mentioned, he points out many of the important acts of parliament that have been prompted by the ever-increasing Socialistic impulse; such as the "Reform Bill" of 1832, resulting in the acts of 1842, 1844, and 1847, each imposing restrictions on the private ownership of capital, the "Mining Act" (1842), the "Municipal Corporations Act" (1835), the "Public Health Act" (1875), and "Shop Hours Regulation Act" (1887).

"Municipal Socialism" is progressing not only in matters of sanitation, but extends to many industries. One hundred and sixty-eight localities manufacture their own gas; the water supply is being rapidly taken out of private hands, no less than seventy-one governing bodies obtaining loans for this purpose in a single year; thirty-one localities own, and twenty-three own and operate their own street railways, being one-fourth of all in the kingdom. The public already regulate the hours of labor of "young persons," and similar legislation is now sought for adults.

The essentially Socialist character of the public schools is recognized in England more than in the United States, and the income of the rich is being absorbed to provide for the education of the poor. A movement is now on foot to furnish one free meal a day to the school children.

The government finds it necessary to take steps for providing work for the unemployed. The "housing of the poor" is beginning to engage public attention. Over \$6,000,000 have already been spent by London authorities in subsidizing the building of cheap artisans' dwellings; and the city of Glasgow (which already provides gas, water,

markets, baths, wash-houses, slaughter-houses, parks, botanic gardens, art galleries, museums, libraries, tramways, "houses of refuge," and industrial and other schools) having demolished vast areas of "slum" property and itself built large blocks of dwellings for the poor, lets them at "moderate" rents.

The English government in its various ramifications is by far the largest employer of labor in the country. In 1891 it realized a profit of \$2,000,000 on the post-office and express business, which are united and under state management. Mr. Webb gives the following comprehensive summary of governmental activities: "Beside our international relations and the army, navy, police, and courts of justice, the community now carries on for itself, in some part or another of these islands, the post-office, telegraph, carriage of small commodities, coinage surveys, the regulation of the currency and note issue, the provision of weights and measures, the making, sweeping, lighting, and repairing of the streets, roads, and bridges, life insurance, the grant of annuities, ship-building, stock broking, farming and money lending. It provides for many thousands of us from birth to burial, midwifery, nursery, education, board and lodging, vaccination, medical attendance, medicine, public worship, amusements, and burial. It furnishes and maintains its own museums, parks, botanic gardens, art galleries, libraries, concert halls, roads, streets, bridges, markets, fire engines, light-houses, pilots, ferries, surf boats, steam-tugs, life-boats, slaughter-houses, pounds, harbors, piers, wharves, hospitals, dispensaries, gas-works, water-works, tramways, telegraph, cables, allotments, cow meadows, artisan dwellings, common lodging-houses, schools, churches, and reading-rooms. It carries on and publishes its own researches in geology, meteorology, statistics, zoölogy, geography, and even theology. In our colonies the English government further allows and encourages the communities to provide for themselves railways, canals, pawn-broking, theatres, forestry, cinchona farms, irrigation, leper villages, casinos, bathing establishments, and immigration; and to deal in ballast, guano, quinine, opium, salt, and what not. Every

one of these functions, including even the army, navy, police and courts of justice, was at one time left to private enterprise, and was a source of legitimate individual investment of capital. Step by step the community has absorbed them wholly or partially, and the area of private exploitation has been lessened. Parallel with this progressive nationalization or municipalization of industry there has gone on, outside, the elimination of the purely personal element in business management. . . . The State now registers, inspects and controls nearly all the industrial functions which it has not yet absorbed. In addition to births, marriages, deaths, and electors, the State registers all solicitors, barristers, notaries, brokers, newspaper proprietors, playing-card makers, brewers, bankers, seamen, captains, mates, doctors, cabmen, hawkers, pawnbrokers, tobacconists, distillers, plate dealers, game dealers, all insurance companies, friendly societies, endowed schools and charities, limited companies, lands, houses, deeds, bills of sale, compositions, ships, arms, dogs, cats, omnibuses, books, plays, pamphlets, newspapers, raw cotton, trade-marks, and patents; lodging-houses, public houses, refreshment houses, theatres, music halls, places of worship, elementary schools, and dancing-rooms.

"Nor is the registration a mere form. Most of the foregoing are all inspected and criticised. . . . The inspection is often detailed and exhaustive. . . . The State in most of the larger industrial operations prescribes the age of the worker, the hours of work, the amount of air, light, cubic space, heat, lavatory accommodations, holidays, and meal times; where, when, and how wages shall be paid; how machinery, staircases, lift-holes, mines, and quarries are to be fenced and guarded; how and when the plant shall be cleaned, repaired, and worked. Even the kind of package in which some articles shall be sold is duly prescribed, so that the individual capitalist shall take no advantage of his position."¹

Even the well-informed will be astonished at this array

¹ "Socialism in England:" Publications of the American Economic Association," April, 1889.

of social and industrial activities to which governmental interference and control have already been extended in England. A single statistical fact is of more value than volumes in proof of this. In 1841 the expenses of the English government were forty times as great as in 1685, although the population was only threefold. Recent similar comparisons furnish like evidence.

It is to be noted also that the whole current of English thought, legislation, and social forces sets strongly in the direction of the collectivist principle and away from the individualism that has until recently dominated society. All this is of the essence of Socialism. Englishmen, however, are still shy of this term. They are fond of the word *reform*, and apply it to every movement calculated to improve society. Socialism is simply *reforming* society on the basal principle of human solidarity. The prejudice against the term is rapidly disappearing. Men who a few years and even a few months since could not have been induced to admit that their views were Socialistic now openly avow themselves Socialists, and this without any impairment of their influence. Nearly every government office contains several pronounced Socialists. Sir William Harcourt said in the House of Commons: "We are all Socialists now." The Prince of Wales has made the same declaration.

The entire artisan class demand remedial measures, and the surest path to political promotion is to favor Socialistic legislation. The demand for the removal of urban poverty, the state insurance of wage-workers, the building of artisans' dwellings by city councils, and the nationalization of land become daily more imperative. A law has already been enacted enabling communities to purchase land for the purpose of letting it to small cultivators. Two hundred or more workingmen's clubs of London are now demanding "a progressive collectivism."

The united demand of the working people in any free country will ultimately be heard. The political situation in England indicates that Socialism will make greater progress in the future than in the past.

Herbert Spencer's prophecy is being rapidly fulfilled. "The numerous Socialistic changes made by Acts of Parliament joined with numerous others presently to be made, will by and by be all merged in State Socialism — swallowed in the vast wave which they have little by little raised."¹

The gradual political extension of the Socialistic principle in England has already had the happiest effects in the direction of equalizing the burdens and benefits of the social organization. Yet gentlemen on both sides of the Atlantic who persist in viewing all social phenomena through capitalistic spectacles, attribute the progress that has been made, or that is possible, to *self-help*, rather than the adoption of the collectivist principle. "Socialism," says Mr. Cook, "by fostering dependence on state-help, undermines the spirit of self-help, and so is a fatal enemy of the cause of the poor."² On the contrary, the state-help which Socialism demands, being but the intelligent and free industrial co-operation of laborers, is the most scientific and effective form of self-help.

"Our unconscious acceptance of this progressive Socialism is a striking testimony to the change which has come over the country of Goodwin, Malthus, and James Mill. The 'practical man,' oblivious or contemptuous of any theory of the social organism, or general principles of social organization, has been forced by the necessities of the time into an ever-deepening collectivist channel. Socialism of course he still rejects and despises. The individualist city councillor will walk along the municipal pavement, lit by municipal gas and cleansed by municipal brooms with municipal water, and seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school hard by the county lunatic asylum and municipal hospital, will use the national telegraph system to tell them not to walk through the municipal park, but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading-room, by the

¹ As quoted, "Socialism in England" (Webb): Publications of the American Economic Association, April, 1889, p. 64.

² "Socialism," p. 89.

municipal art gallery, museum, and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town hall, in favor of the nationalization of canals and the increase of the government control over the railroad system. 'Socialism, sir,' he will say, 'don't waste the time of a practical man by your fantastic absurdities. Self-help, sir, individual self-help, that's what's made our city what it is.'"¹

3. Political progress in France.

The establishment of a republic upon the ruins of a monarchy has so absorbed the attention of the people of France during the past twenty years that the industrial question has been in abeyance. With the opening, however, of the present year (1892) Socialism suddenly becomes the one absorbing political and social question. Government, regardless of *laissez-faire*, comes to the defence of the laborer in such a way as to threaten the existence of the great capitalistic employer. A thoughtful French writer says, "The truth is, that the contrast between the luxury of some and the misery of others has never been so marked as now. There has rarely been a time when fortunes have been made so rapidly or when rich people have so boldly and so brutally flaunted so publicly their wealth. Until now the press has not done much in enlightening the public on the precarious condition of millions of working men, but the striking contrast between the brilliant and joyous life led by the wealthy, and the suffering and sorrow of the poor, has begun to touch even those who had scarcely before given a thought to the subject."²

All the signs of the times in France point to an immediate enlargement of the functions of the State to embrace industrial operations.

In 1881 France assumed control of the tobacco industry. In 1889 she purchased, at a cost of 8,000,000 francs, the telephone business; she also owns and operates the match

¹ "Socialism in England" (Webb): Publications of the American Economic Association, April, 1889, p. 65.

² "Public Opinion," Jan. 23, 1892.

business. From all kinds of business in which she is now engaged France makes a net profit of \$80,000,000.

4. Political progress in the United States.

Political Socialism in the United States is much more recent than in England, but it has advanced in much the same way though not to the same extent. If we are behind Germany, England, and France in this respect, it is only because the occasion for state interference is comparatively recent; social conditions have been different; we have no aristocracy of birth. Social castes have heretofore hardly existed if we except negro slavery. We have plenty of land. Until quite recently the broadest equality in education, politics, religion, and industry has prevailed. Since the civil war, however, in consequence of our unprecedented accumulation of wealth a counter tendency has rapidly developed, and the class evils and inequalities that spring from individualism in industry are now keenly felt, and are more intolerable to the people who are their victims than in any other country on earth. This is due to the antagonism necessarily existing between our free institutions and any sort of social oppression.

Our inherited ideas of liberty and equality create a certain social status for the individual that affects his whole life and character.

The true American is a citizen, not a subject; an equal, not an inferior; a friend, not a servant; a patriotic soldier, not a mercenary; a partner, not a hireling.

He knows nothing of liberty without equality, or equality without liberty. A dependent laborer is not a free man. To the American deprived by capitalism of land and the means of production, all talk about "the pursuit of happiness" is a farce. This status of citizenship which is peculiar to our country and constitution, and which is cherished as the crowning glory of our democratic and Christian civilization, has been seriously damaged and endangered by the forces of capitalism during the last few decades. Caste, poverty, inequality, and discontent have increased *pari passu* with wealth and progress, so that the term *commonwealth* formerly applied to the State is now felt to be a misnomer.

Those placed at a disadvantage by this state of things, being the great body of wage-workers, have at last awakened to a sense of their wrong, and among other results have demanded legislation restricting the operations of capital in the interests of working men. The character of this legislation, however disguised its appearance or unconscious its originators and promoters may be of the fact, is Socialistic.

Already the national and state governments have enacted laws interfering with the management of almost all branches of industry. To enumerate the laws bearing upon these various industries and social activities would be largely a repetition of the long catalogue already given of similar laws in England. It may be confidently affirmed that any found therein and not yet adopted in this country are sure to be enacted as rapidly as the occasions demanding them may arise. Our government is now the largest employer of labor in the country. It has to-day not less than 150,000 employees.

The principle of state interference whenever the public good requires it is generally accepted by American statesmen and economists, and governmental control of industries will naturally meet with less opposition where the people constitute the government. It needs to be constantly borne in mind that this State Socialism involves no change in our form of government. It is simply the enlargement of the strictly democratic functions of government, and will produce a type of civil liberty more equal, just, and beneficent than the world has ever seen.

By act of Congress contracts for labor with residents of other countries are now prohibited.

Such industries as street-cars, water-works, street lighting, which were once entirely in private hands, are being gradually owned and operated by the public. It is a significant fact that when government once assumes control of an industry it seldom goes back into private hands. The proposition to nationalize land, railroads, canals, the telegraph and telephone is daily growing in public favor.

During the thirty years ending 1888 the expenditures of the United States increased four and one-third times, while

the population only about doubled. The extraordinary disbursements for pensions and interest contribute somewhat to this result; but if we base our comparison on the civil and miscellaneous expenses, we find that during this period these have increased three and one-half times.¹

Among the most important acts of President Cleveland's administration was the establishment of a *Department of Labor*. The government thus assumes the duty of investigating the whole question of labor in its relation to capital, including wages, hours of labor, time and methods of payment; it will also consider the social status of the laborer as estimated by his material, mental, and moral condition.

There is deep significance in the fact that twenty-two Bureaus of Labor Statistics have been created in the different States, and all with the exception of the Massachusetts bureau within the last twelve years.

It is not overlooked here that the increased expenditures of government are due somewhat to legislation designed to further private interests.

It is easy to see that when the State assumes the sole right to create by law an industrial establishment, to go through it and count its hands, inspect its machinery and buildings, prescribe rules for its operation, the hours of labor, the age of the laborers, the time and mode of payments, the amount of capital and dividends, and even changes its sanitary arrangements, conditions of safety, etc., it is theoretically but a short step to the owning and operating of the establishment. On this ground the president of the Chicago and Alton Railroad recently proposed that the general government purchase, or by right of eminent domain take all the railroads in the country engaged in interstate traffic. He is a thoroughly practical business man and proposes that the railroads be run not for profit but for the accommodation of the people. This is precisely the Socialist position, and thousands will to-day heartily indorse it who twelve months ago would have regarded such a proposition as little short of insanity.

We believe that the people of the United States have

¹ "The National Revenues" (Shaw), p. 231.

only to become sufficiently familiar with the idea and advantages of the public control of industry to embrace it with a readiness and even enthusiasm that will surprise its most ardent supporters.

The progress of municipal and state Socialism is not precipitous; it injures no one; it occasions no disturbance of business; it is a perfectly natural development in the industrial evolution. All things have led up to it, but so naturally and gradually that it is not generally recognized as anything new or strange. It is only when the movement is pointed out and analyzed, and a name sought to be given to it, that the attention is arrested. Then the changes at once seen to be logically involved are so radical, so contrary to tradition, historical precedent, and deep and well-worn grooves of social thought and industrial action, that prejudice and opposition are aroused which have to be overcome before one can calmly consider the new movement on its merits.

The recent and rapid progress of political and municipal Socialism in the United States fully justifies the statement of Professor Fawcett made a few years ago in opening a course of lectures in Oxford, "That if the growth of the Socialistic political vote progressed in Germany and in the United States for the next fifty years as it has for the last fifty, capital can do nothing effectual against Socialism."¹

So marked and universal is the tendency toward state control of social forces that the German economist Wagner designates it as "the law of the increasing function of government." Washington Gladden confirms this opinion: "*Laissez-faire* is at the present time losing ground because of evolutionary tendencies which neither political power nor social philosophy can resist; the *government must assume* a larger share of duties, and *laissez-faire* must so far stand aside."²

¹ "Socialism" (Cook), p. 17.

² As quoted in "Applied Christianity" (Gladden), p. 76.

III. — Industrial Progress of Socialism.

"The Socialistic tendency in trusts and other artificial monopolies admits of no doubt." — PROFESSOR R. T. ELY.

Since Socialism is the opposite of individualism in industrial operations, the principle of association is of the very essence of Socialism. All combinations of capital and labor in which the management is social instead of individual, such as partnerships, co-operations, trusts for the management of capital, or labor unions and organizations which bring labor and laborers under a social and central control, are Socialistic in character and tendency. "The Socialistic tendency in trusts and other artificial monopolies admits of no doubt."¹ The only logical or possible outcome is Socialism, which means simply the largest possible application and utilization of the principle of association in the production and distribution of economic goods. This association both of labor and capital is one of the most remarkable of modern industrial phenomena.

1. The association of capital.

The association of capital has indeed been going on for a much longer period than that of labor, for the reason that capital has been powerful to secure legislation in its own favor and prejudicial to labor.

Recently a great impulse has been given to the principle of association, resulting in vast consolidations of capital under the name of trusts, in which all parties in the country, whether individuals, firms, or corporations, engaged in a certain industry unite their interests. The trust fixes the amount of production, prices and wages, and thus controls in its own interest as against the people the necessities and comforts of life. Transfer this institution to the State, and let the people instead of private parties have the benefits, and you have Socialism. "Socialism I will define, then, as the exclusive management of all production and distribution by a single trust on behalf of the people."²

¹ "Problems of To-day" (Ely), p. 109.

² R. T. Ely in "The National Revenues" (Shaw), p. 58.

Trusts, however objectionable in some of their features, are a perfectly legitimate result of the development of the capitalistic system. Given steam, machinery, division of labor, concentration of private capital, contract, and free competition, all expanding and progressing, and in due time the trust follows as naturally and necessarily as the earing of corn follows the blade, and Socialism will follow the trust as surely as the full corn in the ear succeeds the earing.

There is one industry that deserves separate treatment because of its rapid growth, its vastness, and its Socialistic tendency. We refer to the railroad system. Mr. Chauncey M. Depew said of the railroads of the United States: "When you take the 700,000 railroad employees and their families, giving them an average of six each, and the million of men who are engaged in the manufacture of railroad supplies and their families, and the men, women, and children who are dependent upon the income from the \$8,000,000,000 invested in railroads, you have of the 60,000,000 people in the United States, one-half of them living upon the railroad."

Probably half of all the transportation of goods and travel is due to the sea-saw methods of capitalistic production. Commodities are carried all over the country and finally consumed in the very place where they were produced. Socialism would save this enormous waste. Another more serious matter is suggested. Among these 30,000,000 living on the railroads, and having vital common interest, the grossest inequality prevails. A few magnates own and control the entire business. It is this glaring inequality that renders the socializing of industry a necessity. There are 600 railroad corporations in the United States, but they are rapidly consolidating, and nationalization is the certain and near result.

Mr. Webb says, "The older economists doubted whether anything but banking and insurance could be carried on by joint-stock enterprise; now every conceivable industry down to baking and milk-selling is successfully managed by salaried officers of large corporations of idle sharehold-

ers. More than one-third of the whole business of England, measured by the capital employed, is now done by joint-stock companies whose share-holders could be expropriated by the community with little more dislocation of industry than is caused by the daily purchase of shares on the Stock Exchange."¹

It should be observed that there is no essential difference in the various associations of capital from simple partnerships to the gigantic trust. The difference is mainly of size, and consequent power and oppression. It may be said in general that the larger the concentration the cheaper the cost of production and distribution, and the greater the possible economic utility in all directions.

That the people do not have the benefit of this utility, that prices to the consumers are higher than they should be in view of the reduced cost of production, is due to private monopoly. Of this nature are the associations of manufacturers and dealers in particular commodities, such as plumbers' materials, steam fittings, etc., for the purpose of preventing the consumer from purchasing directly of the manufacturers or dealers, thereby saving the middlemen's profits.

The writer recently attempted to purchase certain plumbing goods in Boston, only to be told by the proprietor that he could "sell only to the trade." A remark about *freedom of contract* was met with a gracious and patronizing smile. We said nothing against paying the commission house and wholesaler's profits, the manufacturer's profits, and the dealer's profits, but we naturally demurred at being compelled to pay for the support of a fifth party, and suggested that we could find a dealer who would sell to us, whereupon the proprietor remarked, "If he does, we'll fix him;" that is, any dealer who sold directly to the consumer would be boycotted or black-listed in some way in such cases made and provided. Now, the reason given for this arbitrary proceeding is that unless the producers and distributors of the particular line of goods thus combine

¹ "Socialism in England:" Publications of the American Economic Association, April, 1889, p. 62.

"the trade will be ruined." The middlemen, who live by taking toll of both producer and consumer, will find their occupation gone, and so they must be provided for whether society has any need of them or not.

Let this principle be extended to other branches of trade and observe how it would work. The dry-goods dealer would sell only to professional dress-makers, milliners, and seamstresses; private citizens could no longer purchase medicine, as the druggist would sell only to physicians, and so on through the whole list of necessary commodities.

Now, does any one imagine that free men will submit to any such industrial tyranny and waste, when once they become aware of its real character? And yet this sort of association and monopoly is perfectly legitimate under the capitalistic system. Competition leads directly to private monopoly, and private monopoly is essentially tyrannous; and when it becomes insupportable it will be transferred to the people to whom it belongs, which will end the industrial strife by restoring economic harmony and social justice. We call attention to trusts, railroad consolidations, and other forms of associated capital, simply to show the increasing tendency in this direction. Association perfected is Socialism.

2. The association of labor.

A still more remarkable factor in the industrial progress toward Socialism is the rapid growth of labor organizations.

We have long been familiar with various forms of associated capital, and new methods of combination excite comparatively little attention; but the general federation of the different classes of laborers against capital constitutes the most astonishing feature of modern industrial development. Disguise it as we may these labor unions are shaking the present system to its very foundations.

We are in the midst of an industrial war to which history furnishes no parallel. There is not a secular day in the year in which some great wheel of industry is not brought to a stand-still, and business paralyzed by the joining of the hostile forces. No war more relentless or bitter was ever waged between hostile armies. On the one side

are the forces of capital thoroughly organized and disciplined, possessed of unlimited resources and power of mobility, having for centuries the prestige of victory, and having at their command a secret armed force of "Pinkerton men" larger than the army of the United States, and ready to move at a moment's notice. Opposed to these are the forces of labor as yet raw and undisciplined, having been but recently recruited, handicapped by habits of servility, lack of resources, personal poverty, laws in the interest of capital, and all dominant forces in society.

It is evident, however, to the least attentive observer of what is going on in the camps of the laborers, that their troops are being rapidly drilled, equipped, and disciplined; that thousands are daily flocking to their ranks, and it looks now as if in the near future the whole class of manual laborers would be organized under one central and absolute control, and move as one man at the edict of their chief. Even now the grievance, real or fancied, of a single laborer is taken up by his fellows, carried before the local union to which he belongs, then if need be referred to an investigating committee of the federated unions, and thus the grievance of a single individual becomes the personal concern of all the laborers in the country.

The rapid rise of labor organizations, and the change that has taken place in public opinion respecting them, are among the most significant facts of our time. Within the memory of many now living it was a punishable offence both in Europe and America for laborers to unite for mutual protection. In 1831 Stephen Simpson of Philadelphia writes, "If mechanics combine to raise their wages, the laws punish them as conspirators against the good of society, and the dungeon awaits them as it does the robber. But the laws have made it a just and meritorious act that capitalists shall combine to strip the man of labor of his earnings, and reduce him to a dry crust and a gourd of water."¹

These cruel combination and conspiracy laws of England were regarded as a part of the common law in this country

¹ As quoted in "The Labor Movement in America" (Ely), p. 46.

although the conditions of the new country were so favorable to laborers that an appeal to them was seldom made. Contrast this law and the public sentiment by which it was upheld with the state of things to-day. Labor organizations now exist embracing mechanics and nearly every class of working men except common laborers, and it is probable that these latter will soon be organized and receive recognition in the grand federation of all manual laborers throughout the country.

The Socialistic Labor party in this country had seventy-two distinct sections in 1886, and some of these sections have several branches.

The distinctively Socialistic labor organizations are of course working directly for Socialism. At a convention of the Farmers' Alliance in North Dakota in 1889 it was resolved that "all public necessities, so far as practicable, should be owned and controlled by the government and managed in such a way that no class should be allowed to exact unjust rates for the use thereof." Though aimed primarily at the railroads, the principle here laid down covers the wide field of "public necessities," and would find supporters in all the labor organizations of the country.

It is easy for capital to resist strikes and defeat groups of laborers scattered and disunited, but when this united army of workmen shall move as one solid phalanx under experienced and skilful leaders there can be but one issue to the conflict. Popular liberty and education have made it certain that the majority in an open field and fair fight will win, especially when backed by God and humanity, as the cause of the laborers assuredly is.

The growth of public sentiment in favor of organized labor has been greater the past five years than during the preceding eighty-five years of the century. It is indicative of the approach of an industrial and social crisis, when manual, mental, and moral labor, the only original and essential factor in production, the only real source of value, and the one God-ordained heritage common to all men, shall be crowned king. Toward this result we believe all associations of both capital and labor, whether consciously

or unconsciously, are inevitably tending. The association of capital is simply the socializing of capital. The association of laborers is the socializing of labor. The association of capital and labor, now admitted by all parties to be necessary, is the socializing of industry, and this transferred from private to public control for the benefit of all the people is State Socialism.

IV. — *Educational Forces set in the Direction of Socialism.*

"When the editors of the Encyclopædia Britannica needed for their ninth edition an article setting forth the development and position of political economy, it was to a Socialistic Positivist that they addressed themselves, and the article took the form of a lengthy survey of the steady convergence of all the tendencies toward a Socialistic state."

SIDNEY WEBB.

Among these educational forces we include the latest teachings of political economy, the influence of schools and colleges, Socialist publications, and the attitude of the press and current literature. A brief survey of these several sources of popular education will disclose in each of them a growing sympathy with and frequently an advocacy of the principles of Socialism.

1. Political economy.

Political economy has changed front within the past three or four decades. This is especially true in England where the science has received most attention.

Laissez-faire, Malthusianism, the wages fund theory, the absolute right of private property, the economic harmonies, the conception of the State as atomistic, have all been abandoned by most political economists, and the doctrine of individualism that rested on these assumptions has been greatly modified and in many quarters altogether rejected. A single example will illustrate the completeness of the change that has taken place in political economy. Prior to 1850 every Factory Act passed during half a century was stubbornly opposed by all economists. Since that date no economist of note has denied their utility, and all now agree that these and other similar acts in behalf of labor have proved an economic and social blessing.

The dictum of Mr. Jevons, that "No laws, no customs, no rights of property, are so sacred that they may not be made way with if it can be clearly shown that they stand in the way of the greatest happiness,"¹ has become the accepted theory of English political economists. This is the fundamental principle of Socialism. What becomes of the idea set forth by Adam Smith and that dominated all economic thought for the first half of this century, that the sole object of the science of political economy was to "enrich the people and the government"? Economists now admit that to "enrich the people" at the expense of their morals and manhood is supreme folly.

Thorold Rogers in his comments on Smith says, "Modern economists limit their inquiries to the causes which increase or waste wealth."¹ Most economists, however, go farther. The truth is, there is hardly a human act or thought that does not tend to "increase or waste wealth," and that in the economic sense.

When economic science proposes merely to increase wealth, and moral science and history assure us that this increase of wealth imperils the general health, happiness, and stability of the nation, it is evident that such economic science conflicts with ethical science.

In other words, it is not science in the proper sense of the word; for all true science is not only consistent with itself but with all other established truth. "Truth is catholic and nature one."

Political economy has heretofore labored under a burden of conflicting opinions, false theories, self-contradictions, and antagonism to the accepted truths of other sciences that caused Carlyle to characterize it as "the dismal science" and brought it to the verge of "innocuous desuetude." It is a fact of great significance that the revival of interest in this science has been in exact proportion to its practical recognition and adoption of the tenets of Socialism.

Economists who still oppose Socialism are found to

¹ "The State in Relation to Labor," p. 11.

² Smith's "Wealth of Nations" (Rogers' Edition), Vol. II. p. 1, note.

approve nearly all its principles. Their contention is invariably with some non-essential detail or method of application that in no way invalidates the broad principles of the system. Mr. Webb says, "The scientific difference between the 'orthodox' economist and the economic Socialist has now become mainly one of terminology and relative stress, with the result that one competent economist not himself a Socialist publishes regretfully to the world that "all the younger men are now Socialists, with many of the professors."¹ The same gentleman tells us that in December, 1887, it was computed that of the fourteen courses of lectures on economics then being delivered in London eight or more were given by professed Socialists. Other facts of equal weight are adduced showing the trend of modern economic thought toward Socialism, and making it well-nigh certain that the political economy of the future, the only one that is worthy the name of science, must be that of the Socialist.

Political economists in America are far behind their English cousins. In mental, moral, and most physical sciences we are not leaders but followers of the mother country. Our economists have, however, done much original and independent thinking, and have reduced to absurdities many of the old positions once regarded as impregnable; but they have not had encouragement to come out flat-footed as have English economists in favor of Socialistic principles, and against the defunct and morally rotten tenets of the old capitalistic political economy. Their social environment is against them. The rapidity with which riches are accumulated, the worship of the almighty dollar, and the greater equality of conditions among us, have produced an individualism more intense than in any other part of the world. Individualism is therefore popular in America. Many economists feel that they could be Socialists only at a sacrifice of reputation and possibly of place.

A professor of political economy in one of our colleges

¹ "Socialism in England:" Publications of the American Economic Association, April, 1889, p. 46.

was recently requested to resign because he was leaning too strongly toward Socialism. Most men have a much stronger leaning toward an unsound position with popular support than to a sound one without it. They feel no special call to martyrdom for which this age offers small inducements. The law of supply and demand largely determines the kind and quality of thought and speech. To succeed in popular error is more prudential, certainly more remunerative, than to secede in the right.

Many leaders of public opinion honestly believe that reform and progress are best served by a temporizing policy.

The conservatism of American economists, however, is yielding to the logic of events; and many of the younger men, instead of attempting to tinker up the old system or to adjust its tenets to the new social conditions, are ignoring its assumptions and advocating measures that make for Socialism, not in the lump, but in instalments, such as municipal control of street lighting, water supply, street railways, the nationalization of railroads, telegraphs, etc. This is a mighty step toward Socialism, and owing to the popular methods our economists are wisely employing its influence is felt through all ranks of society.

Having gone thus far we believe there is no logical halting-place short of the full admission and adoption of the principle of State Socialism. City water-works, etc., are recommended to public control on the ground that they are *natural* monopolies. The distinction between natural and artificial monopolies seems to have no scientific basis. It is, however, a happy accommodation to a conservatism opposed to progress. We like the way of progressive approach toward Socialism. It is said that "natural monopolies are those businesses which become monopolies on account of their own inherent properties."¹ What are we to understand by "inherent properties"? According to Professor Ely a business or pursuit may become an artificial monopoly in either of two ways: by legislation as a protective tariff, or by connection with a natural monopoly as the Standard Oil Company or the great coal com-

¹ "Political Economy" (Ely), p. 251.

panies, in securing reduced freight rates from railroads. No doubt these oil and coal companies form alliances with railroads, but it would be hard to tell which was the most natural or mischievous monopoly. But how about the trust monopolies and other combinations which have no special connection with the railroads or any other so-called natural monopolies? Or how does the manner in which a monopoly chances to be established effect its "inherent nature"? There seems to be one circumstance that might distinguish a natural from an artificial monopoly, and that is, the former is less subject to competition. Just so far as a commodity or a convenience is freed from the laws of competition it becomes a monopoly, and according to the social evolution a perfectly natural one.

Almost every commodity is now controlled by a *trust*, which fixes the quantity and price, and with which competition has less and less to do. Indeed, the whole object of the trust is to kill competition.

If any monopoly can be called *artificial* according to those who insist on the distinction, it is the trust which completely crushes competition. This, however, is the condition of natural monopoly.

Professor Ely says, "A pursuit is a natural monopoly when it is excluded from the steady, constant pressure of competition."¹ The distinction therefore between natural and artificial monopolies has no scientific importance.

Professor Ely has done more than any other American economist to popularize economic science. His broad and catholic views, his extensive range of knowledge, the spirit of candor that characterizes his writings, and the manly independence of his thought, have given him a foremost place among American economists. In his latest work he says, "*It may perhaps be laid down as a general rule that when for any class of business it becomes necessary to abandon the principles of freedom in the establishment of enterprises, this business should be entirely turned over to the government, either local, State, or federal, according to the nature of the undertaking.*"²

¹ "Problems of To-day," p. 117.

² "Political Economy," p. 82.

Here, it seems to us, the whole principle of Socialism is admitted; that is, all that Socialism claims is logically involved in this position. Another eminent economist and writer, Professor J. B. Clark, did not hesitate to say, in a meeting of the Connecticut Valley Economic Association: "If it were a question as to a possible ideal state of society, we should all be Socialists." This admits that Socialism is in itself desirable, that it is just and right. What, then, is the implication as to its opposite, individualism? Even Professor Francis A. Walker, who regards Socialism as a Utopian scheme, writes passage after passage in his excellent treatise on "The Wages Question" that accords perfectly with the principles of Socialism. He says (p. 166), "The tendency of purely economic forces is to widen the differences existing in the constitution of industrial society." Again he says (p. 172), "Failing to find relief in economical forces, he [the political economist] will look away to moral forces to achieve the emancipation of the economically oppressed classes." He does not hesitate to "challenge the assumption that underlies the orthodox doctrine of wages, namely, the sufficiency of the sense of self-interest" (p. 73). "Cheerfulness and hopefulness in the laborer are springs of exertion" of the utmost importance (p. 73). The "economic harmonies" succeed chiefly in failing (p. 83). Freedom of contract must yield whenever the moral and physical well-being of the people require it (pp. 173, 359). "Sympathy and respect for labor in the community" are necessary, if the laborer is to receive a fair share of economic goods (p. 362).

In these and many other passages of like import Professor Walker completely knocks away the underpinning of the capitalistic structure.

It remains to point out in this connection the complete revolution in economic philosophy that has taken place in Germany. Its key-note is sounded in the words of Roscher, "The starting point as well as the object point of our science is man." This is also the beginning and the end of Socialism. So numerous and influential are German political economists who advocate doctrines tending to

Socialism that their opponents have named them Socialists of the Chair. Among them are found the ablest economists in Germany. Laveleye says, "Ever since the ideas of Adam Smith and his disciples commenced to spread in Germany they have met with critics there, such as Professor Lueder and Count Soden, who regarded as important, not the mere growth of wealth, but the general progress of civilization. Next have followed Von Thünen, Adam Müller, Charles Bernhardt, List, Lorenz Stein, Roscher, Knies, Hildebrand, Hermann, and to-day their name is legion: Nasse, Schmoller, Brentano, Schoenberg, Roesler, Dühring, Wagner, Schaeffle, Cohn, Von Scheel, Samter, Engel."¹

The new school adopts, in whole or in part, the historical and inductive or realistic method, as distinguished from the *a priori* deduction of the old school of economists. They make men rather than money the centre of the system; they repudiate all economic ideas not in harmony with the law of Christian ethics, and insist that it is the duty of the State to interfere so far as necessary to secure industrial and social justice. They differ, says Laveleye, from "the old school in their views of the foundation, the method, the mission, and the conclusions of economic science."² It will thus be seen that the difference is radical, involving a new and Socialistic science of political economy. Recent Socialistic progress in Germany is due in no small degree to the advanced teachings of her political economists.

2. Schools and colleges.

Another educational influence favorable to Socialism emanates from schools and colleges. A few years since little or no attention was given to the study of sociology and economics; to-day these branches occupy an important place. To what is this change due? To the rapid increase of wealth? No. To the marvellous inventions and improvements in machinery? No. To the increase of population or the massing of capital and labor in industrial

¹ "Socialism of To-day" (Laveleye), p. 273.

² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

cities? No. To what, then, is it due? We answer, to the ever-deepening popular conviction that labor is cheated and degraded, and social injustice reigns in flagrant violation of the spirit of equality, fraternity, and humanity. It is to right this insupportable wrong that the people have turned to political economy, and nothing is more certain than that they will accept no economic science that is not based on social justice.

The attempt is being made to introduce the study of political economy into the common schools. Within the past few years manual training has been taught in many schools throughout the country with good results. Several industrial schools have been established in the United States. The system seems to be taking root in this country. It is a system, and herein lies its significance. It has been in operation in the manufacturing towns of Europe for fifty years.

Russia has 1,200 schools with 20,000 pupils. Belgium has 36, some of which are evening schools, with over 25,000 attendants. Holland has 32 with 7,000 pupils; Switzerland 87 with 8,000 pupils; Denmark 77 with 6,000 pupils; Sweden 28, and the school in Stockholm has 8,000 pupils; Italy in 1885 had 136 industrial schools with 16,274 pupils.¹ The abolition of apprenticeship and the development of capital leaves the youth dependent and helpless. An army of young men in any country without a trade, without any means of livelihood, is a danger that no nation dare encounter. The European states therefore have been forced into industrial education. The next move will see the man employed where as a boy he has learned his trade.

The study of economics is now made a part of the curriculum of all the higher institutions of learning. The establishment of departments of Christian sociology in our theological seminaries is of great significance and promise. In England more especially, teachers and professors of avowed Socialistic principles are found in schools and universities. Mr. Webb says that both Oxford and Cambridge are now paying considerable attention to Social-

¹ "Public Opinion," June 27, 1891.

ism. At each of these several Fellows and tutors of colleges are avowed Socialists and members of Socialist organizations. Socialist lectures have been given in several colleges. The "Toynbee Hall Settlement" is sustained by university graduates who are mostly Socialists. Several recent publications from the universities are strongly Socialistic in character. The old *a priori* individualism is abandoned. "No professor ever founds any argument, whether in defence of the rights of property or otherwise, upon the inherent right of the individual to his own physical freedom and to the possession of such raw material as he has made his own by expending personal effort upon. 'The first step must be to rid our minds of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract rights.' . . . The whole case on both sides is now made to turn exclusively on the balance of social advantage, and practically no individualist *axiomata media* are allowed to be taken for granted." ¹

German universities pay more attention to economics, and more of their professors of political economy are Socialists than in any other country in the world. In Russia the ranks of the Nihilists, the future Socialists, are recruited principally from the youths in the schools.

It is pointed out by all writers on the social problem in Russia that her universities and higher schools are the chief centres of Socialistic influence.

These are important facts. When the young men and women that crowd the institutions of learning in Europe and America come forth with the conviction that in the social and industrial evolution capitalism with its anti-social and anti-Christian assumptions respecting capital, contract, and competition, is unjust and inhuman, and already obsolescent, we may reasonably look for a political economy that shall be dynamic, rather than static, practical rather than theoretical, *social* rather than *individual*, Christian rather than pagan. For such a science of economics Socialism furnishes the only basis.

¹ "Socialism in England:" Publications of the American Economic Association, April, 1889, p. 43.

3. Socialistic publications.

The educational influence of Socialistic publications can be easily under-estimated. The average citizen does not see them, he is not looking for them, and when a list of such publications is brought to his notice he is simply astonished. The volume of these books, newspapers, and pamphlets is increasing both in this country and Europe.

In 1886 thirty-four journals, of which five were daily, representing various phases of Socialism, were disseminating its principles among the people of the United States. The *Socialist*, started in 1885, claimed to have 3,000 subscribers in its fourth number. The New Yorker *Volkszeitung* claims to have a circulation of over 30,000. "We have fifty or more papers and magazines unreservedly advocating Nationalism. They are country weeklies, farmers' papers, labor publications, and several daily papers."¹

The *Nationalist*, a monthly published in Boston by "The Nationalist Educational Association," issued its first number in May, 1889. Within six months 35,000 copies were necessary to supply the demand. Its motto was, "The nationalization of industry and the promotion of the brotherhood of humanity." It was succeeded by the *New Nation*, a weekly, edited by Edward Bellamy and having in view the same noble object. While zealous in the advocacy of its principles, the *New Nation* is temperate in its tone, moderate toward opponents, radically but conservatively progressive, making its strongest appeal to conservative and thoughtful minds, and numbers among its contributors professors, clergymen, philanthropists, and other writers of national reputation. It is exerting a wide influence throughout the nation.

The formation of Nationalist clubs is one of the most extraordinary movements of this generation, and indicates nothing less than a national interest in the cause of Socialism. The first club was formed in December, 1888, and within eighteen months there were no less than one hundred and twenty-eight organized clubs, embracing twenty-seven States. The immediate inspiration of these clubs was

¹ "The Nationalist," December, 1889, p. 39.

Mr. Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." But the time had come in the progress of Socialistic thought for public expression and organized action, and Mr. Bellamy's great work sounded the call for organization.

The influence of these clubs in spreading a knowledge of Socialistic principles and in winning adherents, composed as they are of the most intelligent and cultivated persons in society, cannot be over-estimated. They may prove a temporary phenomenon in the great social movement; they certainly constitute an epoch in the history of Socialism in the United States, and if they give way it will only be to another and more aggressive method of propaganda.

We have not attempted a complete enumeration of Socialist publications in the United States, but only a general survey which may give us an idea of their influence as an educational force among the people.

In England, Socialistic publications are still more numerous and influential. Mr. Webb calls attention to the following, among other recent publications from the universities: Professor Karl Pearson's "The Ethics of Free Thought," a collection of Socialist essays; "Darwinism and Politics," by D. G. Ritchie, M.A.; "The Moral Function of the State" by the same author; Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism," translated by Bernard Bosanquet, M.A.

Justice is a weekly paper published in London and having a larger circulation than any other Socialist paper. The *Commonweal*, another weekly, is the organ of the Socialist League. Among the more important issues of the Social Democratic Federation are "Socialism Made Plain" (seventy-first thousand); "The Socialist Catechism," by J. L. Joynes, M.A. (twentieth thousand); Mr. Hyndman's "A Commune for London," and "The Emigration Fraud;" "The Principles of Socialism," by Hyndman and Morris; Prince Krapatkin's "Appeal to the Young;" and Karl Marx's "Wage, Labor, and Capital."

We shall not attempt to give a complete list of the Socialistic publications in England. Their name is legion. The same is true of the Socialistic press in Germany. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, "The literature of Socialism is

enormous and rapidly growing," and appends a long list of some of its leading works.

These Socialist publications both in Europe and America are eagerly read by the people, and especially by the cultivated classes, and the result will be an industrial and social transformation of which the chief danger is that it will be too rapid.

4. New books and the attitude of the press.

Another educational force deserving separate mention is the recent appearance of certain books by American authors; also the attitude of the press toward the new order. Among these books may be mentioned "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George; "Modern Socialism," by Laurence Grönlund; and especially "Looking Backward," by Edward Bellamy.

These books have fallen like manna upon multitudes whose souls were starving in the barren wilderness of capitalism. These authors maintain that there is a God in political economy. The discovery is new and startling. That the Almighty should presume to enter the domain of Plutus, and assert his right to recognition in economics, is regarded by many economists as subversive of the very foundations of the science as heretofore conceived.

Mr. George in "Progress and Poverty" does not make Socialism his goal; indeed, he devotes directly but few paragraphs to the subject. "Looking Backward" does not even mention the word; while Mr. Grönlund makes it the title of his book. Mr. George aims at the nationalization of land; Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Grönlund at the co-operative commonwealth. All are keen, practical, political economists, and insist with irresistible logic upon the recognition of *social justice* as the basis of any economic science worthy the name.

"Progress and Poverty" has had an enormous circulation both in this country and in Europe, and, as Mr. Webb observes, "gave a touch which caused all the seething influence to crystallize into a popular Socialistic movement. The optimistic and confident tone of the book, and the irresistible force of its popularization of Ricardo's law

of rent, sounded the dominant 'note' of the English Socialist party of to-day. Adherents of Mr. George's views gathered into little propagandist societies, and gradually developed in many cases into complete Socialists."

"Looking Backward" took the world by storm. Critics and reviewers of all schools of thought were forced to exclaim, "It is the 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' of the industrial slavery of to-day!" "Wonderful book!" "Extraordinary!" "Astonishing!" "It is a revelation and an evangel!" "It is a new 'Iliad.' Homer glorifies war in the destruction of men; Bellamy glorifies peace in the salvation of humanity." Within a few months of its publication the book had reached its two hundred and tenth thousand, and was reported to be selling at the rate of 10,000 a week. It has been translated into many languages, and is read all over the globe; and yet this is the book that Prof. Francis A. Walker does not hesitate to call a "wild weak dream!" Comment is needless.

"Modern Socialism" is a vigorous and trenchant arraignment of the capitalistic system, and sets forth in a concise and popular manner the advantages of "the co-operative commonwealth."

The attitude of the general press is also a significant factor in the educational forces that make for Socialism. Newspapers and magazines that but a few years since had little to say on the social question except to condemn unqualifiedly all phases of Socialism now devote large space to its consideration; and it is the exception when they do not indorse one or more of its tenets.

The whole manner of looking at the relations between capital and labor, at the nature of capital itself, at the proper functions of the State, at labor legislation and organizations, has been completely revolutionized within a few years. The change consists in the substitution of the Socialistic for the individualistic standpoint of observation. Newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets are teeming with articles sympathizing with laborers, assuring the public that a certain great body of strikers seem to have the right of it; that employers ought not only to treat with them,

but to yield to their just demands ; that wages are too low and profits too large ; that eight hours should constitute a day's work ; and that the gulf between the rich and the poor should be bridged at all hazard ; and a multitude of similar propositions which a few years ago would have been regarded as the wildest, weakest, and socially the most treasonable balderdash.

The employer of labor who but yesterday as it were would have indignantly resented the slightest interference on the part of his employees with his management, now consults with them as a matter of course. He has been forced to do this by the progress of public sentiment. His newspaper assures him that it is only reasonable and just ; that labor has rights ; that in the social evolution the almighty dollar must do obeisance to the more almighty labor ; and that in the assumptions of political economy and in the conditions of industrial progress old things have passed away and all things become new.

No writer, even among the stanchest supporters of individualism, ventures to propose any solution of the labor problem aside from prescribing a mere salve to allay irritation on the surface, that is not in its nature and tendency co-operative and fraternal. Is this Socialism ? No, it is only Socialistic.

V. — *The New Ethics and Socialism.*

"Finally this system [the wages] is indicted in the name of that Christian religion whose two cardinal principles it disregards and brings into disrepute — the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Dividing society into two classes it practically disrupts the first, and whatsoever does that leads on to the denial of the second." — DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.

The significance of this title may not be at once apparent to those who have not given attention to the progress of ethical ideas.

It would be strange indeed if the new social conditions which have brought men into new relations with each other should not be accompanied with new duties. The central

principle of the new ethics is *fraternity*. If we seek the material cause that has wrought the industrial and social changes of the present century, it may be summed up in one word, *steam*. Steam has revolutionized all human activities both on land and sea. It has multiplied machinery, concentrated capital, massed laborers, specialized work, created great industrial centres, depopulated the country and crowded the town, increased production as well as human want many fold; by facilitating travel and communication it has founded schools and colleges, built theatres and churches, and flooded the world with literature both good and bad; it has carried the gospel and opium to China, Christianity and infidelity to Japan, democracy and dynamite to Russia, missionaries and rum to Africa; it has made frightful inroads upon the sanctity of home and marriage, and changed the whole face of social and domestic life by causing society to break ranks in every direction; steam has annihilated distance, opened hermit nations, made neighbors of the remotest regions, reduced the size of the world by one-half, and made all men cosmopolitans and members of one family.

This complete metamorphosis of social life has evolved one principle which is essential to our civilization, a principle indeed as old as the race, but hidden from philosophers, dimly foreseen by prophets, hardly recognized by priests, and denied by the world; that principle is the essential *unity and solidarity of human society*. This, the grandest of all human truths, has at length dawned upon the world, and its first fruit is the purely ethical idea of *fraternity* with the divinely beautiful sentiments of sympathy, unselfishness, and love that cluster around it.

All true religion consists in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is the *new conception* of these two great truths that has inspired during the present century the grandest missionary movement the world has ever seen. Formerly God was regarded as the Father only of particular tribes and nations; foreigners were not brothers but enemies even among the Jews. Whatever idea of brotherhood existed was confined to one's own people; no

stranger could be a brother. The book of Sifri says, "A single Israelite is of more worth in the sight of God than all the nations of the world." "It was thought that God himself loved only the Jews. He was the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. . . . The prayer of Israel was, 'Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that know not thee.' The Jew knew no neighbor outside of his own race, and in this he was like other nations. Max Müller says that the word mankind never passed the lips of Socrates, or Plato, or Aristotle. The greatest teachers of the most learned nations had not conceived the idea of human brotherhood in which all have common rights and where each owes to all the others common duties."¹ No rights without *corresponding duties*. More than this, "common rights" and "common duties."

Here is a conception of fraternity new but pre-eminently Christian, and which is already beginning to dominate all ethical thought. It is recognized by the State in relation to crime. Formerly the State only punished crime; now it is attempting to *prevent* it, and this is certainly more *economical* and *rational* as well as more merciful. It is this conception of fraternity that has established state reformatories and eleemosynary institutions that are nothing less than phenomenal. It is this spirit that sends millions of bushels of wheat to famine-stricken Russia; that enters a solemn protest against nations about to declare needless war; that is making human life more sacred the world over; that is everywhere multiplying societies to emphasize the great principle of brotherhood; and that is compelling Christian denominations to lay aside their weapons of sectarian warfare and erect the olive-branch of peace and good will.

What steam has done for economic production, fraternity is about to do for social reorganization. Fraternity declares that every man is his brother's keeper. Individualism based on the opposite principle of selfishness says, as voiced by Professor William G. Sumner: "Let every man mind his own business!" This is not, however, original: the senti-

¹ Rev. A. E. Dunning, D.D., in "Congregationalist," May, 1890.

ment is borrowed from Cain. This is what the priest and Levite said as they passed the wounded and dying man by the road-side. This is the dictum of *laissez-faire*, the shibboleth of capitalism, and a rule of conduct too often acquiesced in by the church. Even the pagan Solon said, "Every man should make the care of the injured his own." This selfish and devilish principle is now, for the first time in the history of the race, formally confronted by the new ethics of *fraternity*. There will be no compromise; one or the other must fall, and if we rightly interpret the spirit of the age the issue cannot be doubtful. Applied fraternity will be Socialism realized.

In support of these views we call attention to the advanced position already taken by many Christian ministers. The Christian Scriptures have so much to say respecting capital and labor and all social relations, and the existing struggle is so bitter and its issues so important, that religious teachers can no longer be indifferent or silent. The earliest attempts both in Europe and America to correct the abuse of capitalism by the substitution in industry of the Socialistic principle were heartily supported by leading ministers and laymen in the church. That Christ was the first Socialist cannot be denied. A great revival of interest in Socialism on the part of the clergy is certainly in progress. Hardly a day passes in which some influential minister does not declare himself in sympathy with the principle of Socialism. To-day's paper contains the following: "In the formation of the 21st district club (Nationalist, New York City), Tuesday night, such men as Rev. Dr. DeCosta, Rev. S. G. Raymond, Professor Daniel DeLeon, and Thaddeus B. Wakeman took a leading part. Their efforts are pledged to the overthrow of the competitive industrial system, and in their declaration of principles they say the principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning."¹

A surprisingly large number of Christian ministers, among whom are many leaders in the church, have identi-

¹ "Springfield Republican," July, 1890.

fied themselves with these Socialist organizations which are scattered throughout the country. Rev. George Cannon is president of the club in Vineland, California. Resolutions indorsing Rev. Dr. Silcox "in the stand he has taken for the emancipation of the race," were passed by the club in Oakland, California. Rev. R. M. Webster delivered a course of lectures of marked ability before the club in Pasadena, California. The first lecture delivered before the club in Tescott, Kansas, was by Rev. D. McGurk, the vice-president of the club. Rev. Samuel Longden is a member of the advisory committee of the club in Greencastle, Indiana. The club at Hartford, Connecticut, numbers among its members Rev. Floyd Tomkins, rector of Christ Church. Rev. Frederick A. Hinkley is a member of the club in Boston, and a second club in the same city was recently addressed by Rev. James Yeams, an honorary member. Rev. George P. Bethel, presiding over the club in Columbus, Ohio, discussed and explained its declaration of principles. The president of the club in Tacoma, Washington, is Rev. W. E. Capeland.

Rev. Philo W. Sprague recently addressed the Fourth Club of Boston on "What we want and why we want it." Rev. W. C. Gannett addressed the club in Rochester, New York. The Ninth Club of New York listens to an eloquent address upon Nationalism by Rev. H. H. Brown. At the organization of the club at Santa Ana, California, Rev. H. D. Connell was elected vice-president. Rev. M. J. Callan was also elected vice-president of the Salem Club. Rev. W. E. Sillence addressed the club in Chicago on the "Religious Aspect of Nationalism." The club in San Diego, California, elected Rev. B. F. McDaniel president. In a series of lectures given in the different churches of Minneapolis, the first was by Rev. Kristofer Janson, a pronounced Nationalist. Rev. C. A. Cressy has delivered several able lectures in that city. Rev. Samuel Freuder of San Francisco is devoting himself exclusively to making known the gospel of Nationalism. At the formation of the club in Fort Dodge, Iowa, Rev. H. H. Bradshaw was elected secretary. Rev. H. H. Brown is president of the Second

Club in Brooklyn, New York. Rev. Alexander Kent was elected first president of the club in Washington, District of Columbia.¹ This is by no means a complete list of the ministers in this country who have joined this movement as the only hope of society, and indeed of the Christian Church. We believe that for every one who has joined these societies a hundred others are in sympathy with Socialistic principles, and many of the latter, if not members, are equally outspoken in their convictions. Rev. Heber Newton, Rev. James Huntington, Rev. Mr. Wendte, Rev. Morrison I. Swift, Rev. W. J. Hopkins, Rev. D. V. Bowen, Rev. O. P. Gifford, Rev. H. C. Vrooman, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Rev. Francis E. Marsten, Rev. H. J. Stern, are among the preachers and writers who are exerting a powerful influence in favor of Socialism. They represent all denominations, and among them are editors, lecturers, and writers of national reputation. Rev. Leighton Williams, Rev. Walter Renschenbusch, and Rev. J. E. Raymond, of New York, publish a paper called *For the Right* in the interest of Christian Socialism.²

It is not unlikely that our theological seminaries, which are giving increased attention to social questions, and where the new ethics can receive the fullest and fairest consideration, are likely to become centres of Socialistic influence. Rev. Dr. Graham Taylor of the Hartford Seminary says, "I suppose that in the broad meaning of the terms, Nationalism and Christianity are synonymous." He suggested the probable formation of a class in Christian Socialism. In another divinity school a Nationalist club was formed. Andover and other theological seminaries are establishing chairs of Christian Sociology.

The recent establishment of a congregation in connection with his church in Boston, effected by Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, for the "study of social problems and the application of the principles of Socialism," is but the indication of a widespread feeling in many churches. There are ministers and

¹ The names of these clergymen and an account of the various Nationalist clubs may be found in the "Nationalist Magazine."

² "Springfield Daily Union," November, 1891.

laymen everywhere who, weary and well-nigh hopeless on account of the antagonism between the present order of society and the Christianity of Christ, hail this movement as the harbinger of better days. One of these exclaims in view of its progress and the certainty of its triumph: "In a month I shall be seventy, and my first wish was that I might have been born a hundred years latter. . . . I have never felt so much like saying, 'Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all the people.'"

When such writers as Washington Gladden, Edward Everett Hale, Lyman Abbott, and other leaders of the American pulpit and of American thought, declare that the Socialist's diagnosis of the disease which now afflicts society is the correct one, and avow their adherence to many of the remedial measures proposed by Socialism, it is easy to see the drift of public opinion and to forecast the result.

These writers are not necessarily Socialists. Dr. Gladden rejects Socialism "as a positive programme for the reconstruction of society." Nevertheless, most of the remedial measures he advocates are heartily approved by the great body of Socialists to-day, and it is difficult to see how the reform which he demands can take place without adopting the Socialistic programme. Dr. Abbott is president of a Christian Socialist society in Brooklyn; he is also editor of the *Christian Union*, which is doing a grand work in disseminating the principles of Socialism.

Let it not be supposed that the names already given of ministers of religion who are more or less favorable to the claims of Socialism exhaust the list. Probably three-fourths of all Christian ministers in the country are in sympathy with the demands of working men.

Nor are ministers alone or chiefly interested; cultured and influential laymen, lawyers, judges, professors, teachers, physicians, editors, bankers, merchants, and philanthropists are more and more attracted to Socialism, while in the Nationalist clubs are found large numbers of ladies of culture and refinement. Helen Campbell and Mary A. Livermore, beside many other women whom the people

delight to honor, are moved by an earnest purpose to realize the new ethics in the social organization. Can any intelligent person doubt, when the spirit of the gospel thus moves upon the face of the waters and says "Let there be light," that there will be light?

The new conception of ethics has found even larger expression in other countries than in our own. In France and Germany, and especially in England, it is revolutionizing the science. Mr. Webb gives a list of prominent Christian ministers who have written approvingly of Socialism. He says, "It is indeed beginning to be suspected by not a few earnest Christians that the future of Christianity in England is very largely bound up with Socialism and democracy. Unless Christianity can once more become the accepted faith of the masses, its influence must inevitably undergo a serious popular decline, and it is already certain that the masses will accept no anti-Socialist faith."¹

Christianity among the masses has already undergone a serious decline. The ethical principle has been so outraged in the social organization that forbearance ceases to be a virtue. The new ethics demand a reconstruction of society on a fraternal basis. Philanthropy is not fraternity; neither is charity nor any other principle measured by percentage.

Slavery, serfdom, and vassalage were tolerable because the victims believed oppression was natural, right, and Christian. The wage-slaves now believe their oppression to be wrong and anti-Christian, and they are right. Ethics and Christianity will be triumphant. Socialism will come.

¹ "Socialism in England:" Publications of the American Economic Association, April, 1889, p. 38.

CHAPTER IX

WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE ABOUT IT

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."—PHIL. iv. 8.

WE have now traced the most remarkable social movement of our time known as Socialism from its Genesis to its Revelation; the former is its origin and history, the latter its outlook and prophecy.

We have seen in studying its causes how social forces, political, educational, industrial and ethical, have all developed under individualism along converging lines until they have met in the grand central truth of human solidarity. The expression of this truth is Socialism; a system in perfect harmony with the spirit and precepts of Christianity.

We have examined the main postulates of Socialism and find that they present a true bill of indictment against the evils of the present order which is generally admitted, and a true theory of social reorganization which is generally and rapidly gaining adherents. We have also critically examined the nature of the Socialistic state, and found it to rest upon the soundest philosophy and the most approved principles of social utility and justice. We have seen the inadequacy of the remedies, or various half-way measures of social reform, proposed by individualists, such as profit sharing, etc. We next considered the many and great advantages of Socialism over the present order, attention being especially called to the saving of the present enormous waste.

The objections generally urged against Socialism have been considered in order, and most of them found to have

little if any foundation, and finally under "The Revelation and Outlook of Socialism" we noticed the rapid spread of the new movement, its numerical growth, political gains, industrial progress, and lastly the powerful support it is receiving from educational forces and the new ethics.

The few remaining pages will be devoted to some suggestions as to the mode of introducing Socialism and the proper attitude to maintain toward social reform.

I. — *Socialism ought to be introduced gradually.*

"It is an advantage of co-operation, not a drawback, that it cannot advance further than the minds and morals of the people engaged in it, no faster than honest and competent men and women can be found to manage its concerns." — LAVELEYE.

There is no royal road no Socialism. The path of all great reforms has been long and crooked. The land of promise was only one day by rail from Egypt, yet forty years of wandering were required to reach it, but it was none the less certain.

Socialism will come by instalments; and this is the way it should come, without prejudice to any interests and without wrong to any individual. Feudalism gave way gradually to the wage system; so the wage system should gradually be replaced by Socialism. Feudalism itself was gradually superinduced upon allodialism. "The process by which the machinery of government became feudalized, though rapid, was gradual."¹

Doubtless many vestiges of capitalism would survive under Socialism, as certain customs and institutions of feudalism still exist under the present order. The law of real property is feudal in its main lines, so also are its most general terms in their original meaning. The English nobility is but a survival of the upper caste of feudalistic society.

This gradual and partial change under Socialism is in every way desirable. Society would in no way be disturbed, no one would be wronged or even inconvenienced, and

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," title "Feudalism."

most people would be wholly unconscious of changes made from time to time. Again, the State would need to assume control of industries so fast and so far only as was necessary to accomplish the end in view, which is social justice.

Socialists ask nothing more. Some even among intelligent people continue to represent Socialists as desiring revolution for the sake of revolution. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Socialists want *social justice*, and state control is urged simply as means to an end. Whenever the end is accomplished Socialists will be satisfied. If any way can be devised whereby the partial socialization of industries can remove existing evils and insure justice all good men would be abundantly satisfied.

A beginning should be made with industries known as natural monopolies. Among these are railroads, water-works, gas-works, street cars, electric lighting, telegraphs, and telephones. Many cities have already municipalized water-works, city lighting, and street cars with *marked success*. The Postmaster-General of the United States has already recommended the nationalization of the telegraph and telephone in connection with the postal system, and its adoption in the near future may be confidently expected.

What has heretofore distinguished the so-called natural from artificial monopolies, namely the absence of competition in the former, is fast disappearing; that is to say, the *trust* stage has appeared which is being applied to all industries and which cuts off competition, thus rendering the artificial as objectionable as the natural monopoly so far as the abuse of power and the oppression of the people are concerned. Such monopolies and businesses as are most prejudicial to the public interests should first be nationalized, and in every case with full remuneration to all parties who might suffer financially by the change.

It should be borne in mind that Socialists propose only peaceful means for the introduction of the new order. Its opponents are continually representing them as disposed to violence, and the most cowardly and contemptible way of doing this is by mentioning them in the same breath with anarchists, to whom in temper and purpose they are more

opposed than are individualists. Socialists trust the forces of evolution. Capitalistic obstruction of evolution will alone cause revolution. If the social struggle becomes an "irrepressible conflict" and resort is had to arms, we believe the first gun will be fired by the oppressor rather than by the oppressed, as was the case in the war which freed the American slave.

II. — *Capitalists ought to regard Socialism with Favor.*

"The laborer has his legitimate, his necessary, his honorable, and honored place in God's creation; but in all God's creation there is no place appointed for the idle wealthy man."—WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

The advantages of wealth are far from being an unmixed blessing. The fear of losing caste, which might result from a single turn in the wheel of fortune, is often as painful as the fear of actual want on the part of the laboring classes. The rich not only fear the loss of social caste, but are often haunted with the fear of being reduced to actual want.

The possession of money begets the love of it, and there is in the breast of almost every rich man something of the miser spirit of hoarding and the miser dread of loss and want. It is not a comforting reflection to the average rich family of to-day that, owing to the tendency of wealth to sap manhood, the distance to poverty is measured by only about three generations.

The two greatest evils that can exist in a republic are riches and poverty. Nay, they *cannot* exist side by side for any great length of time. The wealth of a few and the *commonwealth* are antagonistic ideas; they are now as never before seen to be hostile not only to each other, to the genius of democracy, and to the new ethics, but to the Christianity of Christ. These social forces are working together and working powerfully against this great inequality, and the issue cannot be doubtful. The recent Papal Encyclical says, "All agree . . . and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the

very poor. . . . A small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

The social question is not merely the labor question, it is the capitalist's question as well. Why should the rich look with favor upon Socialism? We answer:—

1. Because something *must be done*. The forces of labor and capital are preparing for war. Just as surely as the occasional firing of the pickets and advance guard tells the advancing troops that the ordeal of battle is at hand, so the mustering and concentration of the forces of labor and capital and the occasional outbreak of hostilities clearly indicate the impending struggle.

I am not an alarmist. All students of the social question agree that the danger can be averted only by immediate action. A conservative capitalistic writer says, "If men of wealth cannot be made to hear and heed the small voice there will come again, as in the Peasants' War, and Wat Tyler's rebellion, and the French Revolution, the rumbling earthquake, the rending whirlwind, and the sheeted fire."¹ Better a thousand times for the rich to recognize and submit to the inevitable, than to refuse to see or to resist it till the crash comes which will bury in common ruin our wealth, our institutions, and our civilization.

There is an increasingly large number of capitalists who deprecate the wrongs which they are powerless to prevent, and patiently await the developments of Socialism, saying of it as Gamaliel said of the gospel, "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it."

2. The mental suffering of the capitalistic class furnishes a strong argument for Socialism. It may strike wage-workers as bordering on the ridiculous to speak of the sufferings of capitalists, but this is because of their ignorance.

What is the significance of the daily record of suicides committed by members of the capitalistic class? Think

¹ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 157.

for a moment of the mental suffering, the poignancy of the grief, that drives one to the act of madness! A hundred men may die of starvation and their aggregate of suffering not equal the agony of the man who seeks relief in suicide. But this daily record of suicide and murder, due to the system of capitalism, furnishes but a hint of the sufferings of capitalists. Nine-tenths of all who engage in business fail. Follow the average business man through the dismal swamp of failure. He begins to be anxious about his affairs; bills come in that he cannot meet; he becomes nervous and sleepless; he racks his brain in seeking to reduce expenses; suggests curtailment at home which is met with loud complaint; asks his banker for larger accommodations and is cut to the quick at his manifest hesitation if not refusal. Meanwhile things daily get worse; in his distress he seeks loans from his friends and pledges his honor as security; creditors torture him with importunity; he resorts to all conceivable devices and shifts to keep things going; he inwardly groans because his time is all taken up, not in attending to business, but in financiering and in keeping up false appearances which he despises. Now letters begin to come limiting further delay and threatening legal proceedings; his situation becomes desperate as bankruptcy stares him in the face. The strain begins to tell on his mind and health; he is nervous, irritable, sleepless, and has no appetite. Still the poor man hopes; he *cannot*, he *must not* give up. The forfeiture of the confidence and respect of his associates and neighbors and the community is worse than death to a noble spirit. His wife and children, would they not rather die than suffer the disgrace that threatens? But the end is not yet; the final, fatal day is put off from week to week because he cannot, he *positively cannot* muster courage to face his creditors. Do not censure him, for he is a brave man. He would march up to the cannon's mouth in honorable battle without the emotion of fear, but to encounter the surprise and disgust, the taunts, the threats, and probable charge of dishonesty, to say nothing of the loss of esteem of his creditors, is more than he can endure. A merciful provi-

dence puts an end to this mental torture either by insanity, suicide, or insolvency. In either case the suffering is indescribable. We say without hesitation that the protracted agony endured by men on the brink of financial ruin is the most terrible of all human woes. The loss of kindred, disease and death itself, are mild in comparison. We have followed only one man through the ordeal of failure. Multiply his sufferings as we have outlined them by ninety out of every hundred business men and you get a faint idea of what they are called upon to suffer under the present order.

We venture the assertion that during this painful experience every business man would have hailed the *régime* of Socialism as gladly as the shipwrecked mariner hails an approaching sail or welcomes a sheltering harbor. Mr. J. H. Walker thus "discusses the fate of business men. He tells us that in 1840 there were four firms in Worcester engaged in . . . the manufacture of boots and shoes. They comprised seven individuals, and only one of these manufacturers died in comfortable circumstances in advanced age. Two of them were at work for Mr. Walker as journeymen when prostrated by their final sickness. In 1850 there were twenty-one firms manufacturing boots and shoes in Worcester comprising twenty-four members. All but four of these failed in business, and only two retired with any capital. In 1860 there were twenty-three firms engaged in the same business in Worcester, comprising thirty individuals. Of these twenty-three firms twelve have failed; and of the individuals who comprised the firms only eight are now manufacturing, and only two have gone out of business with any capital."¹

The failures in the United States and Canada for 1891, according to Bradstreet, figure up \$189,000,000 total liabilities. For every failure reported, however, there were probably five others in which the struggle to "pay up" was so successful as not to be the subject of report.

Let capitalists once be assured that Socialism would bring relief from this needless wear and tear upon body

¹ "Labor" (Cook), pp. 258, 259.

and mind, that they, possessing as they generally do judicial and executive ability, would be as highly respected in the new order as under capitalism, and they will certainly regard Socialism with less prejudice if not with open favor.

No success, no accumulation of capital, can yield happiness enough to offset the suffering and misery experienced in the struggle to acquire it.

3. Another reason why rich men should regard Socialism with favor is the personal danger and annoyance to which they are exposed on account of their possessions.

In monarchical or aristocratic governments, Dives may dwell in security beside Lazarus, but recent developments suggest the question whether under free institutions where Lazarus has the ballot and is guaranteed the right to the pursuit of happiness, he will consent to subsist on crumbs and allow Dives the unmolested enjoyment of his wealth. It is getting fashionable of late for the poor man to call on his rich neighbor and present his card for a few thousands, backed by threats of personal violence in case of refusal. There is not a rich man in the country who has not at times felt his life in danger from a tramp or crank or poor man on account his money.

The persons of the rich are also in danger from the intrigues and plots of covetous and wicked persons who, though not poor, want money. That the number of such persons is greater than ever before, and is sure to increase under the present system, cannot be doubted. Not a day passes that does not record the murder of the rich for their money. Thousands of rich men and women in this land live in constant fear of their lives. They lie down and rise up with trembling. Distrust, suspicion, and dread haunt them continually. Dionysius was a rich and powerful king. Damocles congratulated him on his happiness; whereupon Dionysius prepared a splendid banquet, at which he placed Damocles with a naked sword suspended by a single hair above his head in order to show him the kind of happiness his riches gave him. It is needless to say that under Socialism the fear and suffering experienced by the rich would disappear.

The rich are also subjected to great annoyance from solicitation and begging. We touch upon a subject here that is assuming serious proportions. Besides his regular charities, the rich man is besieged by an army of solicitors for all conceivable objects, good, bad, and indifferent. He must give respectful attention to each, which eats up a large portion of his time. If he refuses to consider any object he is discourteous if not unkind. If he declines to give he is stingy; if he gives he ought to have given more and has got to the next time. He cannot escape these solicitors; their name is legion and they are ubiquitous. If he flies from home for relief, he finds on reaching his destination a bushel of letters, papers, circulars, pamphlets, and perhaps several people who have anticipated his arrival, waiting to welcome him. He begins to ask himself if a rich man's life is worth living. Now, this annoyance is a burden of the magnitude of which the average citizen does not dream. Socialism would do away with this excrescence of capitalism.

4. Riches when secured do not afford the happiness they promise. Such is the uniform testimony of rich men, and the truth is founded upon reason and nature.

Riches enable their possessors to gratify their vanity and thus stir the envy of their fellow-men. But the happiness thus afforded is not worthy the name. It is transient, selfish, and unsatisfying; it leaves the soul made in the image of God hungry and naked. What is called fashionable society cannot satisfy any earnest, noble soul. No class save the extremely poor are more to be pitied than those whom fortune has made its victims. Emerson says, "Fashionable society in our great towns is babyish. Wealth is made a toy." It is this failure of wealth to fulfil its flattering promises that led Christ to speak of "the *deceitfulness* of riches." Riches often bring a burden greater than they remove. Seneca said, "A great fortune is a great slavery." "Next to the hell of having nothing is the misery of having too much."

An American recently deceased, and reputed to have been the richest man in the world, said as he sat with his wife in their palatial home, "Well, mother, I don't believe we

are so happy with all these fixings as we used to be on the farm where we began life." But why multiply words to show that riches cannot satisfy? Shakespeare voices the experience of all mankind, when he says, —

"If thou art rich, thou art but poor;
For like an ass whose back with ingots bows,
Thou bear'st thy riches but a journey,
And death unloads thee."

There is another piece of testimony bearing on this subject to which we shall not appeal in vain. It is contained in the oracles of God. "But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition."¹ "Labor not to be rich."² "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl over the miseries that shall come upon you."³ "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."⁴

The Great Teacher spoke a parable wherein a certain rich man, the prototype of most rich men to-day, denied this truth; "but God said unto him, Thou fool."

Against these declarations of God capitalism swears eternal enmity. On the other hand, Socialism is in perfect accord with divine truth. It looks upon the corrupting, heart-hardening, dehumanizing, and soul-destroying power of riches precisely as does the Bible, and says with the Almighty, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of heaven!"⁵ No candid man will deny that of all social reforms ever proposed Socialism is the only one that renders it probable or even possible that the divine law respecting riches can be realized on earth.

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 9.

² Prov. xxiii. 4.

³ James v. 1.

⁴ Luke xii. 15.

⁵ Mark x. 23.

III. — *Our Country should make haste slowly in the Accumulation of Wealth.*

"The danger which threatens the uprooting of society, the demolition of civil institutions, the destruction of liberty, and the desolation of all, is that which comes from the rich and powerful classes in the community." — CHANCELLOR HOWARD CROSBY.

We are \$60,000,000,000 strong with a daily increase of \$7,000,000. Our country has only to continue this rate of accumulating national wealth to render its downfall certain. All history, philosophy, and religion teach that wealth breeds luxury, luxury breeds vice, vice breeds political corruption, and political corruption breeds national death.

Such is the disastrous influence of wealth under individualism, or where it is in the hands of the few. Is it not time therefore for the richest nation on earth either to distribute its wealth more equally, or to call a halt in its mad pursuit of riches?

At the commencement of this century we were few and poor. Our fathers adopted the policy of encouraging immigration. The need for it has ceased; but immigration with but little restriction continues. Our material resources, well-nigh unlimited, have had a prodigious development. The whole country, like a thriving Western town, has been booming for a century until we are to-day one of the biggest, richest, shoddiest, most boastful, hoggish, and mammon-crazed countries of the civilized world. We have also brains, muscle, Christianity, and moral and physical potentialities unsurpassed by any other country. But our mushroom growth is not a healthy sign; our rate of speed is dangerous.

When the mariner perceives a storm approaching he takes in sail. What this nation needs to do is to take in sail. We have received 5,250,000 foreigners in the last ten years. We ought to practically prohibit immigration for the next ten years. Not numbers, but character, not money, but manhood, are facts that need the emphasis of

dynamite. National strength and greatness depend on the quality fully as much as on the quantity of citizens. The Spartans were invincible in war because every man was a hero. Greece produced more illustrious men in two hundred years than all Europe in the last two thousand, because her institutions made her citizens intelligent.¹ England is greater than India because one Englishman will do as much work in a day as thirty-two East Indians.² Puritans made New England great. Not more but better men is what America needs to perpetuate her institutions.

Let us stop the glorification of railroads, mines, mills, and foundries; let us cease from the mad and maddening rush for material aggrandizement, as if riches rather than righteousness exalted a nation, and gold rather than Jehovah was God over all. With a millionaire Congress, and more than one-half of our national wealth owned by one per cent of the population, who pay less than twenty-five per cent of the taxes, democracy may give way to a plutocracy, and instead of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, we may have a government of gold, by gold, and for gold.

A conspiracy more dangerous than that of Catiline against Rome is being formed against our republic. It is the conspiracy of Plutus, against which we cry as did Cicero, "How long is that madness of yours still to mock us?" This conspiracy is receiving powerful support from principles which, though popular, are treasonable to free government. Our current philosophy of progress and civilization is opposed to reason, religion, and common sense. Take, for example, the theory that social progress depends upon the increasing of human wants. Hear this argument advanced in the name of political economy; give the laborer leisure, for leisure will increase social opportunity; social opportunity will increase economic wants; wants will increase demand; and demand will multiply mills, mines, machinery, railroads, in a word, wealth; and this constitutes social progress! Was there

¹ "Heredity" (Cook), pp. 13, 14.

² As quoted in "The Wages Question" (Walker), p. 42.

ever an age or a philosophy so grossly and disgustingly materialistic? If the moral virtues and the precepts of the Christian religion are thus to be ignored in social progress, let us go back to paganism and listen to Stilpon, who, when asked by Demetrius if he had lost anything in the plundering of Megara, replied, "Nothing at all, for I carry all my effects about me;" "meaning his justice, probity, temperance, and wisdom."¹ All progress not measured by these virtues is progress backwards.

A false idea of civilization is another ally of Plutus. Burke declared that civilization depended upon two principles, "The spirit of a gentleman, and the spirit of religion." Our day declares that civilization depends on steam, electricity, and other physical forces successfully applied to the development of material resources, with religion and education as secondary considerations. Burke was right. We protest against any conception of civilization that would exclude Washington and Franklin, William of Orange, the Pilgrim Fathers, Shakespeare, Milton, Erasmus, Luther, Paul, Socrates, or Jesus Christ from its fold. Inventions, machinery, and money are the last and lowest factors, if not a positive hindrance in civilization; while education, humanity, and religion are of supreme importance.

Everywhere the corrupting influence of wealth is manifest in the increase of luxury. No one denies its deadly effect upon society. All agree with Panin that "our virtues spring from our needs, our vices from our luxuries." Abolish luxury and we abolish poverty as well as vice. There are people who justify luxury on the ground that it furnishes employment for the poor; the same principle would make bonfires of dwelling-houses. Waste and want are wicked. Use the money spent in luxury in building houses for the homeless, which would also give employment to the poor and a better conscience to the builders.

Private luxury already menaces the republic. Livy said, "Avarice and luxury have been the ruin of every great state." Historians, philosophers, moralists, and

¹ "Rollin's History," Book XVI. Sec. 7.

statesmen all agree that luxury leads to national decay and death. We had better dwell in the rude and humble homes of our fathers than in palaces with marble walls, frescoed ceilings, inlaid floors, and doors of costly wood hung on golden hinges. Will this passion for luxury abate under the capitalistic system? Never so long as effect follows cause, or men reap as they sow. Gibbon's "Rome" contains this passage, pregnant with truth, "It might perhaps be more conducive to the virtue as well as happiness of mankind if all possessed the necessities and none the superfluities of life. But in the present imperfect condition of society, *luxury*, though it may proceed from vice or folly, *seems to be the only means that can correct the unequal distribution of property.*"¹ Here, then, is the hard, relentless, terrible fact, *luxury sure to destroy the republic but necessary under the present régime.* Can an honest man believe this and oppose a wise, conservative, Christian Socialism?

IV. — *The Christian Church ought to espouse the cause of Socialism.*

"Civilization without Christianity is veneered brutality." — DR. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR.

"The Christian moralist is therefore bound to admonish the Christian employer that the wage-system, when it rests on competition as its sole basis, is anti-Christian." — DR. WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

We have seen in the last chapter that Christian ministers of all denominations are lending a listening ear to the claims of Socialism, and large numbers have already openly avowed themselves in its favor.

All representatives of the church agree in one thing, namely, that Christianity alone can solve the social question, and should at once set itself to the task.

Now, the social question is like an aching tooth, sensitive and painful on the surface, but the ache is at the roots, and when insupportable extraction becomes necessary. The roots of the social question are *capital, contract, and*

¹ Gibbon's "Rome," Chap. II. p. 67.

competition individual and free. Any attempt to solve the social question and leave untouched these diseased prongs of its *canine* teeth is only to continue the religious quackery that has alienated the masses from the church and mocked the Christianity of Christ. Christ and his disciples, the first Christian Socialists, laid down the fundamental assumptions of constructive Socialism, and warned mankind to flee from the evils that have ripened on the tree of capitalism as from the wrath to come. These assumptions of Socialism are brotherly love, social justice, industrial and political equality, and civil liberty. The first two indeed are generic and philosophically equivalent. These are the basal principles of all sound political economy. They must regulate all production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of economic goods.

The New Testament condemns the assumptions of the present order, the first of which is private capital. The New Testament tells the rich man to sell all and give to the poor. God says to him, "Thou fool." He is told to "weep and howl over the miseries" that shall come upon him. That the gospel opposes private riches cannot be denied.

Freedom of contract is the second principle. Freedom of contract between unequals is freedom for the strong to oppress the weak, which is the law of capitalism; but Christianity says, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

The third principle of capitalism is competition. Competition is *strife* based on *self-interest*, but Christianity says, "Let nothing be done through strife." "Love seeketh not her own."

Now, what attitude should the Christian church take toward these assumptions of Socialism on the one hand and of capitalism on the other? Shall she continue her capitalistic apologetics, or become the champion of the second great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," which is Socialism? Will the Christian minister continue to *approve* a system that produces private riches when the New Testament everywhere *condemns* them? Will he continue to *justify competition*, which is

strife based on self-interest or self-seeking as against another, when the New Testament *condemns* strife and says, "Let no man seek his own but each his neighbor's goods" ? Will he continue to uphold *freedom of contract*, which enables the strong to oppress the weak, which enabled Judas to betray Jesus, which has filled the world with Judases ever since, which tempts men everywhere to deceive, cheat, lie, steal, and kill ? It is astonishing how any disciple of Christ can defend competition. A writer before us boldly says, "Competition is in itself a clean thing, . . . that to which rising up toward the cross Paul appeals in his endeavor. . . . to stir up the laggard Corinthians."¹ Shades of the Apostles ! Paul himself seeking by the cruel *war* of competition to magnify the cross on which hung the *Prince of peace* !

Socialism, however, has nothing to fear from such opponents ; they are too far behind either to catch up or be considered in the controversy. It is rather a church that admits and deplores the evils connected with the assumptions of capitalism, but seeks some modification of these principles, hoping thereby to get rid of the evils while preserving the system, that Socialism opposes. Were this possible, Socialism would have no reason to exist. It is the system itself that must give way to a newer and better order, as Judaism gave way to Christianity. The Judaizing Christians, however, clung tenaciously to the ancient *régime* ; they sought to Christianize it as the church has sought to Christianize capitalism, but in vain ; they only hindered the truth and ruined themselves.

The time has come when the church must take sides. She is now confronted with the well-defined constructive principles of Socialism. These principles if economic and political are also distinctively *ethical* and *religious*, hence the church cannot evade or deny them ; they are *brotherly love*, *social justice*, *economic* and *political equality*, and *civil liberty*. The way, and the only way that gives hope of

¹ Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., in "The Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1892, pp. 37, 38.

realizing these great principles, is by the *nationalization of industry*, so far at least as may be necessary to secure the result.

There can be no question as to the relation of Christ to these principles on the one hand or to the evils of capitalism on the other. The *National Baptist* says, "If Christ should enter a modern prayer meeting, and once more utter his woes against the covetous, against the makers of corners, railroad wreckers, respectable brewers and distillers, he might possibly be endured as an unbalanced fanatic, but would probably be denounced as a *Socialist*."¹ Most assuredly He would, and the denunciation might be loudest in the prayer meeting if the speculator or railroad wrecker was present or was a contributing pillar in the church. Were Christ to appear on earth, his first demand would be that the current *quasi* Christianity be immediately socialized. As a Socialist he is saying to his church, "Follow me." It must either obey, or another church will arise which will represent not the capitalized, hypnotized, and esoteric churches of to-day, but the religion of Jesus Christ. Let us not be understood as characterizing thus all Christian churches. We have no sympathy with any wholesale denunciation of the church from any quarter; on the contrary, we believe the Christian church was ordained of God, and is to-day the grandest institution in the world. We love and honor her for her magnificent charities, her loyalty to the faith, and her conservative, scholarly, and self-sacrificing ministry. She is the divinely appointed guardian of the Scriptures and of all virtue, and the conservator of all the good there is in the world.

And yet when we look about us and realize that the world which she was commanded to save and might save is still a lost world, that the multitudes stand without her gates hungry and thirsty, or if the poor enter they have only the Gospel adulterated with capitalism preached to them; when I read that "the population grows faster than the churches," and that in New York City "the

¹ As quoted in "The Congregationalist," Feb. 4, 1892.

Methodist church, the church whose glory has been its power over the people, has in two decades lost sixty-six per cent—a most startling and alarming statement;” that “the Reformed and the Presbyterian bodies have lost respectively ten and eight per cent in their rate of growth;”¹ and when I see the suffering, injustice, and crime the church might prevent, and the good that is waiting to be done and that she might do, I am constrained to cry out against that unrighteous fellowship with mammon which has to so large an extent converted the church into *bourgeois* clubs whose membership is not “clothed with humility,” but with gold rings and gay clothing, and where pride and vanity, caste and luxury, sensuality and selfishness, and other normal growths of capitalism, are not and must not be disturbed. Can we wonder that the masses are unchurched? Was Jerome a prophet when he wrote fifteen hundred years ago, “Our walls and our ceilings are resplendent with gold, but Christ is without naked and starving at our gates”?

No Christian minister can deny that the church is crippled, yea, bound and gagged, because of her alliance with wealth. Every Christian church and minister so anxiously asking how to reach the masses, *already knows exactly how to reach them were they willing to employ the means*, which would involve the substitution of the Christianity of Christ for the current exclusive and capitalistic Christianity.

No individual or church or decade, however, is responsible for the current lamentable adulteration of the gospel. The church is the unwilling victim of a social system the evils of which have gradually developed, but which have now become so hostile to her spirit and purpose that she can no longer be neutral. No amount of culture and respectability will enable her longer to sit astride the fence; stereotyped platitudes of which the following are samples will not suffice: “The church must teach all to be just, to be generous, to be upright.” “The organizations in their management must be made unselfish.” This sort of

¹ “Public Opinion,” Dec. 26, 1891.

grandmotherly advice with which some good ministers hope to restore peace will not avail. The advice is good, but about as effective as an exhortation to contending armies to be kind to each other and to remember that a soft answer turneth away wrath. Such twaddle only brings the church into deserved contempt.

The simple question presented to the church for immediate decision is *pro-capitalism* or *anti-capitalism*. Not that the existing order should be hastily disturbed. Socialism should come gradually, tentatively, and only so far as may be necessary; but the principle confronts the church and demands acceptance. She cannot longer serve two masters: she must openly espouse caste or equality; riches or righteousness; competition or co-operation; self-interest or self-denial; "bitter envyings and strife" or neighborly love; anarchistic *laissez-faire* or mutual protection; plutocracy or theocracy; in a word, *individualism* or *Socialism*. The church is becoming alive to the fact that she cannot consistently preach against the sin of having respect of persons (caste) and uphold a system that creates caste; or against the vice of luxury, the curse of pauperism, drunkenness, and crime, and uphold a system that is the prolific mother of these evils. The church must abandon her temporizing and Pharisaical attitude respecting riches. The spirit of the Master and of his gospel is uncompromisingly against the possession of riches amid want and suffering.

On what authority does the theory rest that it is right to *seek* riches but wrong to *keep* them? Nothing is more common to-day than the dictum that the gospel of Christ requires that *riches be held as a sacred trust*. The gospel of Christ requires no such thing; it does not require that riches be *held* at all, but the exact opposite. The idea is an attempt on the part of the church to accommodate herself to the mammon of unrighteousness. It is, however, a significant concession and an immense gain over the theory of the absolute right of private riches which has heretofore practically prevailed.

The rich man, however, who, protected in the sole pos-

session and enjoyment of his wealth by law, by tradition, and custom, and who knows that under this wicked social and industrial system a single turn in the wheel of fortune may reduce him to poverty, and yet voluntarily bestows his wealth upon men or institutions socially worthy and needy, is a Christian and a hero. The number of such men is constantly increasing; and it is one of the most hopeful signs of the times, showing how the leaven of Socialism is working and preparing the way for its coming. Into the consciousness of men is being burned as with a hot iron the fact that in the social organism each individual, with all that he possesses, belongs first to society and last and least to himself. The time has at length come when the basic and regal principle, hitherto hardly recognized in human society, that "*no man liveth to himself*," must be crowned king and enthroned in the industrial and social relations of mankind.

There is one piece of capitalistic luggage that the church has carried quite long enough; and that is the doctrine that poverty is a social necessity as indicated in the declaration of the Saviour, "Ye have the poor always with you." This is a monstrous perversion of the truth; it represents Christ as justifying poverty as an institution ordained of God and nature, whereas the whole tenor of Christ's teaching regards poverty as an evil, and approves that order of society in which it may be possible for every individual to obey the command of the Saviour, "Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on." Over against these words an eminent capitalistic divine says, "The 'fear of want' is not an evil; it is the main incentive to industry and thrift. A policy that relieves men of 'worry,' and converts them into 'lilies of the field,' only degrades, pauperizes, and brutalizes them."¹ Here the issue is sharply and concisely drawn. Christ declares the "fear of want" to be an evil, forbids men to "worry" and to be "anxious," while this capitalistic divine denies that "the fear of

¹ "Socialism and Christianity" (Behrends), p. 236.

want" is an evil, and declares that men ought to "worry" and be "anxious."

When the existing order can only be defended by a categorical denial of the teachings of Christ both in letter and spirit its death-knell is sounded. It is worthy of note that when the virus of capitalism once enters a Christian minister's soul he must perforce cling to a capitalistic creed, a capitalistic church, and a capitalistic Christ. Thus it is that much capitalism makes even the Christian mad.

It is by thus sharply defining the issue between God and mammon that the Christian Church will the sooner see her way to espouse the truth of Socialism. Christianity has liberated the slave, destroyed serfdom, emancipated women, procured liberty, established equality in law, education, and religion, and it will not now retreat before capitalism. That some of her leaders should attempt to pour the new wine of Christian Socialism into the old worn-out bottles of an obsolescent capitalism is to be expected; but we are optimistic enough to believe that the church will yet rise in her might, and, endued with power from on high, clad in the armor of God, under the lead of her stable-born, labor-bred, and thorn-crowned King, proclaim liberty to all the people. The Christian Church is the only power on earth, her Head the only name among men, that can purify politics, suppress crime, substitute love for strife in industry, insure equality, establish social justice, and direct the progressive civilization of the race.

The first requisite for the church is a clear and distinct recognition of the fact too long obscured that men have bodies as well as souls. If the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy him forever, that enjoyment is not to be deferred till the next world, but is to begin here. Flesh and blood cannot enter into heaven, but something of heaven should enter flesh and blood. Men hunger after bread, even before they hunger after righteousness. Christ recognized this truth, but the church has too often ignored it. Let the church address herself to the correction and direction of the two mightiest factors in industrial society, the struggle for bread and the struggle for gold; let it

once be understood that what is vicious in men is inflamed by not having enough on the one hand and having too much on the other, that is, by poverty and riches, and we shall find that Socialism, which is the prayer of Agur, "Give me neither poverty nor riches," is the truest and gladdest philosophy the world has ever seen.

INDEX

A

- Abbott, Lyman, on the wages system, 445; 451.
 Adams, Henry Carter, 92.
 Adaptation, want of, by laborers, 311.
 Adulteration, waste from, 295; of food, *ibid.*; of drugs, 296.
 Advantages of the socialistic state, 244-319; of profit sharing, 183.
 Advertising, waste from, 289-290.
 Æsop's wolf, 388.
 Agur, prayer of, 474.
 Allodialism, 454.
 "Alton Locke," 326.
 Ambrose, St., on riches, 83.
 American federation of labor, 217.
 Anabaptists of Münster, 147.
 Anarchism, 3; opposed by Socialism, 325; distinguished from Socialism and communism, 326, 327.
 Andover Theological Seminary, 450.
 Apprenticeship, 228.
 Arbitration, 197-201; in France, 197; nature of, 197; inadequacy of, 199, 200; advantage of, 199.
 Aristotle, 180; 245; 447.
 Arkwright, Richard, 389.
 Armory, United States at Springfield, Mass., 288.
 Arnold, Thomas, on political economy as the parent of crime, 272.
 Association of capital, 426-429; of labor, 429-432.
 "Associated Ownership," 155.
 Assumptions of capitalism, opposed to the New Testament, 467; of political economy, 238.
 Attic culture, 375.
 Atkinson, Edward, on the capacity of machinery, 30.
 Atheism among German laborers, 162; not a feature of Socialism, 320; caused by capitalism, 322, 323; French Socialists and Christ, 323.
 Australia and an eight-hour day, 216.
 Austria, 216; land monopoly in, 81.
 Authority of the State, 251.

B

- Babœuf, 139; 147; 335.
 Babylon, 373.
 Bacon, 268.
 Banking and banks, waste from, 314; reserve funds in, *ibid.*; number and expense of national banks, *ibid.*
 Bankruptcy, 458.
 Bare subsistence, the wages of labor, 119-138; meaning of, 121.
 Basil, St., on riches, 82.
 Bass, J. D., 276.
 Bastiat and *laissez-faire*, 57.
 Batt, W. J., 273.
 Bebel, Herr, 327.
 Begging and the rich, 461.
 Behrends, A. J. F., on labor as the source of all value, 65; his fatal admission as to the rights of the land-owner, 71; his attempted

- refutation of Henry George, 72; unscriptural position of, 73; on property as a part of its possessor, 77; 84; 105, 106; on liberty, 176; on industry and thrift, 230, 231, 238; his criticism of Grönlund on the family, 350; his inconsistency, 351, 352; on despotism under Socialism, 377; on class rule by laborers, 382; at variance with the teachings of Christ, 472.
 Bellamy, Edward, 244, 290, 441, 443.
 Bemis, Edward W., on profit-sharing, 186, 187; on co-operation in United States, 191; on luxury, 303.
 Berlin, 321, 324.
 Bernhardi, 438.
 Bethel, George P., 449.
 Bible, solves the social problem, 1; 78; on common property in land, 83; and private property, 86; and Socialism, 162; and the State, 172; 448; on riches, 461.
 Bibliotheca Sacra, on capital and labor, 55.
 Bishop, Governor, on arbitration, 200.
 Bismarck, on land monopoly, 85; 157.
 "Bitter cry of outcast London," 98.
 Blanc, Louis, on the right to labor, 35; and State Socialism, 151, 370.
 Blackstone, 173, 211.
 Blair, Senator, 217.
 Bliss, W. D. P., 217, 450.
 Bluntschli, 167, 171.
 Book-keeping, under Socialism, 248.
 Boot and Shoe manufactures of Worcester, 459.
 Bossuet, on riches, 82.
 Bourgeoise, 141, 156.
 Bowen, D. V., 450.
 Bradford, Amory H., on pauperism, 308.
 Bradshaw, H. H., 449.
 Bradstreet's record of failures, 459.
 Brassey, Thomas, 194.
 Brentano, 438.
 Brewster & Co., 187.
 Bright, John, on inequality, 65.
 Brook Farm, 149.
 Brotherhood of man, 446.
 Brown, H. H., 449.
 Brussels, 328.
 Bryant, 146.
 Buckley, J. M., on land tenure, 80.
 Buddhist monks, 147.
 Bureaus of Labor Statistics, 424.
 Burke, Edmund, laborers the sole supporters of society, 50; on the nature of the State, 175, 465.
 Burns, Robert, 261.
 Byrnes, Thomas, 275.

C

- Cabet, Étienne, a French reformer, 150.
 Caird, on housing of laborers, 102.
 Cairnes, J. E., 92, 122; on the injustice of capitalism, 143, 227.
 Callan, M. J., 449.
 Cameron, A. S. & Co., 187.
 Campanilla, Thomas, 347.
 Campbell, Helen, 451.
 Cannon, George, 449.
 Capeland, W. E., 449.
 Capital, its concentration a cause of Socialism, 14, 15; its nature, 54; not a source of value, 55; used in producing value, 55, 56; produced by labor, 56; private, a social crime, 66, 79, 165; opposed to the New Testament, 467; in land, 213; 203; abolition of, not proposed by Socialists, 332; increased under Socialism, 333; association of, 426-429; and labor, 444.

- Capitalism, nature of, 2; hostile to the family, 8; essential features of, 90; oppresses labor, 118; and low wages, 122; merciless, 142; 226; cannot be Christianized, 236-243, 468; hostile to education, 266; the cause of pauperism, 307, 308; denies choice of work, 311; inconsistencies of, 313; relation of, to waste, 319; the cause of atheism and materialism, 323; invades the home, 341, 350, 351, 352; hinders marriage, 343; principles of, 467; its anti-Christian assumptions, 467.
- Capitalistic system, identical with individualism, 2; injustice of, 104; 176.
- Capitalists, their method of exploiting the laborer, 67; should favor Socialism, 456-462; unjustly blamed, 97.
- Carlyle, on enforced idleness, 34; on the injustice of capitalism, 77; 85; 132; 143; 277; 433.
- Caste, 258; in the United States, 422.
- Cataline, 464.
- Chadwick, 231.
- Chance, equality of, 176.
- Channing, 149.
- Charles V., 374.
- Character and national strength, 463, 464.
- Chartism, 326.
- Charity, waste from, 305; wrong methods of, *ibid*; evil effects of, 306; organized, 307.
- Cheating, 280.
- Cheerfulness in labor, 437.
- Chicago Advance*, 265.
- Children, employment of, 100, 101; under Socialism, 339, 343, 351.
- Chipman, Congressman, 217.
- Choice, freedom of, 379, 380.
- Christ, mission of, 164, 323; the first Socialist, 448; and the principles of Socialism, 469; his teaching as to poverty, 472.
- Christian communists of Jerusalem, 147.
- Christian law of wages, 138.
- Christian Socialism, 158-164; 473.
- Christian Socialist Society, 406.
- Christianity, agreement of, with Socialism, 6, 452; and private property, 82; demands State ownership, 145, 146; perversion of, 147; socialistic, 162; 237, 240; and the masses, 452; and the social question, 466.
- Christianization of capitalism, not possible, 236-243.
- Christian Union*, newspaper, 451.
- Chrysostom, St., on the crime of riches, 48, 83.
- Church, its relation to the social question, 10; regarded by working men as mocking them, 46; censured by its friends, 47; exclusiveness of, 93; handicapped, 158; 162; its two standards of justice, 258; and poverty, 269; alliance with wealth, *ibid.*, 324; should espouse Socialism, 466-473; mission of, 469; 473; decline of, in New York, 470; bourgeoisie clubs, *ibid.*; and the masses, 470; victim of capitalism, *ibid.*; must now take sides, 471; relation to riches, *ibid.*; to poverty, 472; the hope of civilization, 473.
- Churchill, Lord Randolph, 257.
- Cicero, 272.
- Cities, wealth and poverty in, 94, 97.
- Citizens, American, 422.
- "City of the Sun," 347.
- Civilization, false idea of, 465.
- Civil Service Reform, 264.
- Civil Service, under Socialism, 386.

- Clark, J. B., on business depravity, 25 ; 437.
- Classes, separation of industrial, a cause of Socialism, 17-20; danger from, 19; the evil increasing, 92; social, 141; the oppressed, 437.
- Class legislation, a cause of Socialism, 36-39; against labor, *ibid.* ; unhappy effects of, 37, 38; in America, 38.
- Class rule, impossible under Socialism, 382.
- Clement, St., on private property, 66, 83.
- Clubs, nationalist, 441, 449.
- Cohn, 438.
- Colleges, socialistic tendency in, 438-440.
- Collieries, loss of life in, 99.
- Collins, P. A., 217.
- Colonies, American, 220.
- Columbus, 236.
- Commonwealth, opposed to individual wealth, 456.
- Communism, distinguished from Socialism, 3; 151; 326; 394; points of agreement with Socialism, 146; distinguished from anarchism, 326; and equality, 331.
- Communists, 151.
- Community, of wives, 339, 347; the Oneida, 150; of Nauvoo, *ibid.*
- Compensation, for land, 346; extremes of, 362.
- Competition, a cause of Socialism, 20-26; nature of, 20; its unethical character, 22; its false assumptions, *ibid.* ; its evil effects, 24; restriction of, 26; 123; among laborers, 125, 128; essentially barbarous, 130; 165; 186; 229; anti-christian, 242, 267; 273; 349; 394; 455.
- Concentration of capital, social effects of, 14; of wealth in the United States, 91; in Great Britain, *ibid.*
- Conciliation and arbitration, 197, 201; courts of, in France, 197; inadequacy of, 199-200.
- Condition of labor, relative, 233.
- Confiscation, its vicious character, 214; not a doctrine of Socialism, 334, 336.
- Conflict between labor and capital, 140, 429, 457.
- Conger, 276.
- Congress and millionnaires, 464.
- Connell, H. D., 449.
- Conservatism, tendency of, opposed to progress, 236; of American political economists, 435.
- Conspiracy of Plutus, 464.
- Constitution of the United States, 171.
- Contract, freedom of, a principle of capitalism, 165; 428, 437.
- Cook, Joseph, on division of labor, 15; on private capital in land, 79, 80; on wages, 133; on "Looking Backward," 250; 260; 261; 263; on the equal division of property, 332; on confiscation, 334; on State help, 371; on co-operation, *ibid.* ; on political corruption, 384, 385; on self-help, 420.
- Co-operation, its ethical character, 7; 188, 197; defined, 188, 189; in production, 190; in Great Britain, 190; in the United States, 191; partial and integral, 192; insufficiency of, 192, 193; integral, 237; 369; 371.
- Co-operative societies, 159.
- Co-operative commonwealth, 181; 398.
- Corn, value of, 208, 209.
- Corners of the market, 240.
- Corporations, 179.

Cosmopolitanism, a characteristic of Socialism, 6.
 Cost of producing labor, the measure of wages, 133, 134, 135; objections to this theory, 133.
 Cotton mills, 30.
 Councils of conciliation and arbitration in France, 198; cost of, 200.
 Credit, commercial, 246.
 Cressy, C. A., 449.
 Crime, decreased under Socialism, 272, 284; nature of, 272; its relation to the State, *ibid.*; society responsible for, 274; against property, 299; and the State, 447.
 Criminals, produced by the State, 273-280; increase of, 299.
 Crises, commercial, a cause of Socialism, 31-33; their regularity, 31; causes of, 31, 294; inherent in capitalism, 32; mischievous effects of, *ibid.*; waste from, 293.
 Crosby, Howard, 463.
 Cruelty of capitalism, 142.
 "Cry of the Children," 260.
 Culture of laborers, 215.
 Curtis, George, 149.
 Cyrus, 373.

D

Dalmations and common land, 84.
 Damacles, 460.
 Dana, Charles A., 149.
 Danger, personal, of the rich, 460.
 Darwin, 126; theory of, 322, 330.
 "Das Kapital" (Capital), 156.
 Davidson, Thomas, 217.
 Death rate in England, 113.
 De Costa, 448.
 Defalcation, 280.
 Degradation of labor, 118.
 De Leon, Daniel, 448.
 Democracy, a cause of Socialism, 39-42; in Russia, 39; in Ger-

many, 40; in England, *ibid.*; in the United States, *ibid.*; 88.
 Democratic federation, 336, 337.
 Dependence of laborers, 94.
 Depravity, 283.
 Details of socialistic state not essential, 165; 395.
 De Tocqueville, on democracy in industry, 39; democracy and religion, 48.
 Depew, Chauncey M., 227; on railroads, 427.
 Deuster, P. V., 255.
 Devil, 346.
 Dexterity in work, 234.
 Dillon, Sidney, 96.
 Dionysius, 460.
 Distribution of wealth unequal, 92; injustice of, 143.
 Division of labor a cause of Socialism, 15-17; degrades the laborer, 16; of property, 332.
 Divorce, cause of, 308, 340; 350.
 Domestic life, 352.
 Drexel, Anthony J., 227.
 Drummers, waste from, 290; number and cost of, in the United States, *ibid.*
 Drunkards in the United States, 301.
 Duffy, Patrick G., 276.
 Dühring, 438.
 Dunning, A. E., 447.
 Duties, new, 445, 446.
 Dwight, Timothy, 324.

E

Earle, 193.
 Economic assumptions, 219.
 Economic harmonies, 21.
 Edison, 389.
 Education and Socialism, 6; compulsory, 266; socialistic tendency in, 432-445.
 Edwards, Jonathan, 324.
 Eight-hour-day, 214-226; reasons for, 215; how far adopted, 217;

- its gradual adoption, *ibid.* ; its economic effects, 218 ; on wages, 220 ; on profits, 222 ; historical precedents, 219 ; its inadequacy, 218 ; not applicable to all industries, or laborers, 223, 224.
- Egyptian Therapeutæ, 147.
- Ely, R. T., on over-production, 29 ; on child labor, 37 ; on the apostasy of the church, 47, 79 ; on land monopoly, 84, 85 ; 91, 105 ; on St. Simon, 148 ; 150 ; 205, 207 ; on money, 248 ; on waste, 285 ; on public management of business, 288, 308 ; on insurance, 316, 320 ; on an equal division of property, 331, 332, 333, 339, 374 ; on monopolies, 426, 435, 436.
- Election, presidential, 262.
- Ellison, 159.
- Emmerson, Ralph Waldo, 461.
- Embezzlement, 280 ; waste from, 299 ; extent of, 300.
- Employers, relation of to employees, 18 ; attitude toward employees, 445.
- Employees, 183.
- Encyclical, papal, on the misery of the poor, 456.
- Encyclopædia Britannica, 442.
- Enforced idleness, 34 ; waste from, 291-293 ; in England, *ibid.* ; in Massachusetts, *ibid.* ; inherent in capitalism, 293 ; removed by Socialism, *ibid.*
- Engel, 438.
- England, poor law of, 109.
- Englishmen, capacity for labor, 464.
- Entrepreneur function, 194, 195.
- Environment, social, 273, 308.
- Equality, and Socialism, 6 ; 19 ; 82 ; 119 ; 151 ; 165 ; 166 ; 328, 468 ; of chances, 329 ; of rights, *ibid.* ; of conditions, *ibid.* ; required by Christianity, 330 ; of property, 381 ; in the United States, 422.
- Equity and state ownership, 140-145.
- Ericsson, John, 51.
- Ethics and Socialism, 157, 166 ; Christian, 438 ; the new and Socialism, 445-453 ; progress of, *ibid.*
- Evolution of society, 86, 88 ; 139 ; industrial, 243 ; 440 ; social, *ibid.*, 456.
- Exchange of commodities, 245.
- Exertion, impairment of motives to, 365 ; 368.
- Expediency, nature of, 166 ; relation of, to justice, 388.
- Exploitation, 89 ; of labor, 123, 139, 156, 157 ; 238 ; of laborers, by money-wages, 251, 252.

F

- Fabian society, 406.
- Factory acts, 432.
- Factories, unhealthy, 99.
- Failures, 185, 459.
- Faith, 282 ; in France and Germany, 322, 325.
- Families, number of, in England 115.
- Family, under Socialism, 340 ; as affected by inheritance, 342 ; affection of, 345, 346, 349 ; not the unit of society, 352.
- Farmer's Alliance, 431.
- Fashion, waste from, 301 ; change in, 302 ; distresses labor, *ibid.* ; 391.
- Fatalism, 283.
- Fatherhood of God, 446.
- Fawcett, Henry, on value of land in England, 80 ; on food of laborers, 101 ; 331 ; on the growth of Socialism, 425.
- Feudalism, 2 ; 73 ; laborers under, 93 ; 454.
- Fichté, 154 ; his Socialism, *ibid.*
- Folwell, William W., 252.
- Food, poor, of laborers, 101.

- Franklin, Benjamin, 215, 375.
 Fraternity, 119 ; in government, 140; 150 ; of the State, 163; 446 ; new conception of, 447.
 Free competition, 90.
 Freedom, 172 ; of work denied laborers, 311, 312 ; under Socialism, 375, 376, 379, 380 ; natural, 380.
 Freedom of contract, failure of, 28 ; 90 ; Anti-Christian, 239 ; a misnomer, *ibid.*, 241 ; opposed by the New Testament, 467.
 French revolution, 152 ; 457.
 Freuder, Samuel, 449.
 Frugality of laborers, 230.
 Fourier, Charles, 149, 277.
 Fulton, Robert, 389.
- G
- Gambling, 240, 280.
 Gamaliel, 457.
 Gannett, W. C., 449.
 Garfield, James A., 264.
 Gas works, 288.
 Gates, Merrill E., 249.
 George, Henry, on crises, 31 ; on pauperism, 33; 84; 107; 117; on Malthusianism, 127 ; on nationalization of land, 201; his position examined, 204; 269; 337; 443.
 Gentlemen and the price of corn, 209.
 Germany, Christian Socialism in, 161.
 Gibbon, on monopoly, 27; 374 ; on luxury, 466.
 Giddings, F. H. 193, 195.
 Gifford, O. P. 450.
 Gildersleeve, Henry A., 274.
 Gilman, N. P., 183, 184 ; on indifference of employees, 310 ; on motives to exertion, 369.
 Gladden, Washington, on competition, 20 ; on " Christian rule " of property, 87; 129 ; his theory on christianization of capitalism examined, 236 ; on charities, 305 ; on competition, 394; *laissez-faire*, 425; 451; 466.
 Gladstone, 90, 91 ; on machinery, 136 ; on the liquor traffic, 255 ; 456.
 Godin, M. 149.
 Golden Rule, 79; 238.
 Gold, 246, 247.
 Gompers, Samuel, 218.
 Gospel, adulteration of, 469.
 Gould, Jay, 96; 97; 240.
 Government, relation of, to the State, 168 ; increased expenditures of, 419, 423.
 Greece, 373; 464.
 Greeley, Horace, 149.
 Gridlestone, Canon, on housing of laborers, 102.
 Grönlund, Laurence, on crises, 31 ; on disproportionate increase of wages and products in the United States, 124 ; in England, *ibid.*, 294; 331; 334, 336 ; on the home under Socialism, 349, 350, 351; 443.
 Guizot, on feudalism, 73.
 Gunton, George, on an eight-hour-day, 214, 218 ; his position examined, *ibid.* ; 251 ; his erroneous assumptions, 224 ; on wages and standard of living, 225.
- H
- Hadley, Arthur T., on railroads, 285.
 Hale, Edward Everett, 451.
 Hale, Nathan, 174.
 Hamilton, on justice, the end of government, 171.
 Happiness, relation of, to land, 85 ; as affected by riches, 461, 462.
 Harcourt, Sir William, 419.
 Hardships of laborers, 90.
 Harmonies, economic, 432, 437.
 Harrison, Frederick, on classes, 382.

Hawthorne and the Brook Farm movement, 129.
 Hayes, Rutherford B., on business as the cause of crime, 272, 276.
 Hearn, William H., on liberty and property, 177.
 Hegel, his philosophy, 322.
 Hermann, 438.
 Hildebrand, 438.
 Hinkley, Frederick A., 449.
 History, on land and liberty, 82.
 Hoar, George F., favors an eight-hour-day, 217.
 Holyoake, on co-operation, 189, 193.
 Home, under Socialism, 339, 343, 348.
 Hopkins, W. J. 450.
 Howell, George, on conciliation and arbitration, 198, 199.
 Hughes, Thomas, 159.
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von, on nature of the state, 175.
 Huntington, James, 450.
 Huxley, 180.
 Hyndman, H. H., on confiscation, 336.

I

Icaria, 150.
 Ideality, 89 ; charge of, against Socialism, 399.
 Idleness, 368; 396.
 Ignorance of laborers, 309.
 Illiteracy, removed under Socialism, 265-268 ; increase of, in the United States, 265 ; in New York, 266 ; and pauperism, 308.
 Immigration, 463.
 Impracticability, charge of, against Socialism, 388-403.
 Inadequacy of means proposed for social reform, 182-243.
 Incentive to labor, not diminished under Socialism, 250, 365-375.
 Indifference of laborers, 309.
 Individuals and the state, 168.

Individualism, 2; 119; 139; against the gospel, 145 ; contrasted with Socialism, *ibid.* ; and liberty, 173 ; and Christianity, 237 ; identity with anarchism, 327 ; effects of, on the family and children, 357 ; in America, 434, 447 ; maxims of, 274.
 Industrial justice, 390.
 Industrial partnerships, 183.
 Industrial schools, 227-230 ; in America, 227 ; cannot solve the social question, 227-230; 439.
 Industrial systems, 2.
 Industrialism, 352.
 Inefficiency of labor from ignorance, indifference, want of adaptation, waste from, 309-311.
 Inequality, between laborers and capitalists, 96, 104 ; of endowment, 97; 143, 144; 234 ; of conditions, unjust, 258, 427.
 Infidelity, cannot be charged against Socialism, 324 ; in the United States, *ibid.*
 Inheritance, 69; 340; 344 ; effect of its abolition, 342 ; limitation of, under capitalism, *ibid.* ; relation of, to family life, *ibid.* ; to family affection, 345 ; evils of, *ibid.* ; under Socialism, 346.
 Inhumanity, of political economy, 157.
 Insurance, waste from, 315 ; character of, *ibid.* ; fraudulent fires and losses in 1891, *ibid.* ; relation of, to crime, *ibid.* ; of children, 316 ; capital stock of companies, 317.
 Intelligence of laborers, 230 ; enemy of capitalism, 231.
 Intemperance, waste from, 300, 301 ; number engaged in the liquor traffic, 300 ; capital invested, 301 ; consumption of liquors, *ibid.* ; and pauperism, 308.

Interest on money, 202, 203, 204, 212, 246 ; history and evils of, *ibid.*

Interest, economic, maintained under Socialism, 367; 369, 370.

International Society, 324.

International Workingmen's Association on monopoly, 27 ; on pauperism, 34; 139; 336; 410; 411.

International Socialist Congress, 328.

Inventions, 11.

Irish, loyalty of, to marriage, 346.

Israelites, 83; 373.

Italy, land monopoly in, 81, 84.

J

Janson, Kristofer, 449.

Jefferson, Thomas, on government, 175.

Jerome, St., on riches, 83, 470.

Jevons, W. Stanley, on class legislation, 36 ; on the rights of property, 138; 433.

Jewish Essenes, 147.

Jews, 446.

Joint stock enterprise, 427.

Joubert, Joseph, on the duty of society to diminish inequalities, 328.

Jubilee, year of, 83.

Judaism, 468.

Jukes, pauper family of, 306.

Justice, social, a demand of Socialism, 7, 141, 151, 165, 166 ; relation of, to freedom of contract, 240; 455; as a principle of Socialism, 468 ; the end of government, 171; 196.

K

Kant, on the nature of the State, 175.

Keene, James R., 96.

Kent, Alexander, 450.

Ketteler, Bishop, on the labor question, 161.

Kettle, Rupert, on arbitration, 198.

Kingsley, Charles, 159; on freedom, 375.

Knies, 438.

Knights of Labor, 216.

Knowledge, the dissemination of, a cause of Socialism, 42-45 ; in Russia, Italy, and Germany, 42; in France, Great Britain, Spain, and the United States, 43.

L

Labor, the duty of all, 7 ; long hours of, 25; the source of all value, 50-66; includes manual, mental, and moral exertion, 50; manual labor oppressed, 52; abstract or social labor distinguished from concrete, 59; quantity of social labor the measure of value, 60; quantity of labor determined by time, 61; reduction of concrete labor to abstract labor time, 61; its value in use greater than its exchange value, 67; as a commodity, 94; production of, and wages, 133; by the hour, 216; aversion to, 227; the fortune of all, 249-251; honorable under Socialism, 249; disparagement of, 288, 259; of different values, 356; its exchange and use values, 251; socially necessary, the measure of value, 361; dignity of, 431.

Laborers, regard capitalism as unjust, 92; condition in England, 93; dependence of, 94; loss of life of, 100; do not own their homes, 132; and public office, 263; organized, 431.

Labor Unions, 429, 430.

Laissez-faire, 20, 141, 142, 143, 157, 179, 327, 412, 432.

Land, monopoly of, 79-82, 88; value of, in England, 80; relation to liberty, 82; common property, 83; danger from monopoly

- in United States, 87; public, in the United States nearly exhausted, 81; nationalization of, 201-214; value of, 209; a form of capital, 213.
- Lassalle, Ferdinand, 86; on the iron law of wages, 120, 155, 156, 157; 332; 335.
- Laveleye, Emile de, on the identity of Socialism with Christianity, 1; 4; on the oppression of labor, 11; on the effect of education, 42; 81; 83; on Lassalle, 156; 230; on Socialism and equality, 322; 354; 404; 438; 454.
- Lawler, Frank, 217.
- Lawsuits, 297.
- Lawyers in the United States, 297; in France and Germany, *ibid.*
- Lee, Ann, 150.
- Leeds, laborers in, 132.
- Legislation, against labor, 37; corrupt, 179; 390; socialistic tendency, 419.
- Legislature of California, 261.
- Leisure, 215; necessary for laborers, 224; 350.
- Length of day's labor, 215; in the United States, England, France, Germany, *ibid.*
- Lester Brothers, 187.
- Levy, Leone, statistician of England, 215.
- Lewis, Carleton T., of Prison Association of New York, 274.
- Liberty, and land, 82; 119; 165; 166; individual, 169, 170, 172; abuses of, 177; not impaired under Socialism, 375; and choice of work, 380; industrial, need of restraint, *ibid.*; civil, a principle of Socialism, 468.
- Libraries, increase of, 44.
- Life, human, 114.
- Lighting, electric, 288.
- Lincoln, Abraham, on office seeking, 264.
- Liquor traffic, 243; under Socialism, 254-258; its present magnitude, 255; capital in, *ibid.*; source of corruption, 256.
- List, 438.
- Litigation, waste from, 297.
- Livermore, Mary A., 451.
- Living, standard of, among laborers, 112.
- Livy, on luxury, 465.
- Lobby, corrupting influence of, 263.
- Lock-outs, 199, 318; waste from, *ibid.*; loss from, *ibid.*
- London, density of population, 96.
- Longden, Samuel, 449.
- "Looking Backward," 244, 250, 396, 442, 443, 444.
- Lorenzstein, 438.
- Lottery, the Louisiana, 280.
- Love, a principle of Socialism, 468.
- Lowe, Seth, on the mammonism of the church, 47.
- Ludlow, 159.
- Lueder, 438.
- Luther, 252.
- Luxury, waste from, 303-305; defined, 303; relation of, to utility, 304; a menace, 465.
- Lying, 280.
- Lycurgus, 84.

M

- Machinery, a cause of Socialism, 11-14; capacity of, 11, 12; deplorable effect on laborers, 12, 13; does not lighten labor, 13; not a source of value, 55; 136; speed of, 215.
- Madison, on public good as supreme object of State, 171; on usurpations, 172.
- Malthus, Thomas R., on principle of population, 125; on the weak, 128; 302.
- Malthusianism, 125, 126, 127, 432.

- Mammon**, its creed, 99; dethroned, 245-249; 473.
Man, degraded by capitalism, 134; relation of, to his possessions, 339.
Management, capitalistic and bureaucratic, 287.
Manchester School of Economists, its relation to competition, 20; to *laissez-faire*, *ibid.*; to the economic harmonies, 21.
Manhood, 231.
Manning, Cardinal, on the right to work or to steal, 35.
Mansfield, 159.
Manufactories, superfluous, a source of waste, 286.
Margin of cultivation, 203, 210, 212.
Marlo (Professor Winkelbleck), 155.
Marriage, under Socialism, 339, 343; under capitalism, 352, 354.
Marstin, Francis E., 450.
Marx, Karl, on monopoly 27; on labor as the measure of value, 60; on private capital, 66; on exploitation of the laborer, 67; 90; 105; on wages, 119; 155; 156; 321; 332; 333; 335; on skilled and unskilled labor, 355; 358; on value, *ibid.*, 357; 359.
Mass. bureau of statistics, 187.
Masses, sacrificed, 155; how to reach, 470.
Materialism, 320; of certain leaders not representative, 321.
Maurice, Frederick, 159, 160.
McCulloch, on value, 53; value equals quantity of labor, 54.
McDaniel, B. F., 449.
McGurk, D., 449.
McKinley, Congressman, 217.
McPherson, Simon J., the church and pharisaism, 47.
Men, number of unmarried, 353.
Middle Ages and laborers, 93.
Middle men, 428.
Mill, John Stuart, on the effect of invention, 13; on the origin of capital, 56; on the object of political economy, 70; on injustice of land monopoly, 84; on wages, 94; 121; on the object of the State, 169; 173; 182; 349; 365.
Millennium, 401.
Miller, Lewis, 223.
Mills of Great Britain, 136.
Milton, 246.
Mines, unhealthy, 99.
Ministers, Christian, 351; and Socialism, 448.
Mobility of labor, 129.
"Modern Socialism", 443, 444.
Money, not properly capital, 55; wages, 137; is blood, 157; 245; under Socialism, *ibid.*; love of, 248; abolition of, *ibid.*, 325; corrupting influence of, 387.
Monopoly, a cause of Socialism, 27-29; nature of, 27; effect on industry, 27; in land, 28, 71, 72; natural and artificial, 28, 435; of land, tyrannous, 79-85; and the people, 85, 180; 202; 428, 429.
Moore, Thomas, 150.
Moors, 247.
Morris, William, 195.
Motives, to effort, 250, 365-375.
Müller, 438, 447.
Mulhall, 105.
Munro, Professor, 223.
Municipalization, extent of, in industry, 417, 418, 420.
Municipal Socialism in England, 416.
- N
- National Baptist**, newspaper, 469.
Nationalist, the magazine, 441.
Nationalization of land, 201-214; justice of, 201; inadequacy of, 202, 213, 214; extent of, in indus-

- try, 417, 418, 423; of railroads, 424, 427; of so-called natural monopolies, 455.
- Nasse, 438.
- Natural liberty, 2.
- Nauvoo, communistic settlement of, 150.
- Neal, E. V., 159.
- Netherlands, industrial schools of, abandoned, 229.
- New Haven Wire Company, 187.
- "New Nation," 441.
- Newspapers, their increase in the United States and Canada, 44; and laborers, 444.
- New Testament, on exclusiveness and mammon, 343.
- Newton, Heber, 450.
- New York, 94; density of population, 95; poverty in, *ibid.*; wealth in, 96.
- New York Herald*, 177.
- New Yorker Volkszeitung*, circulation of, 441.
- Nihilism, 3; in Russia, 407, 408; 440.
- Noah and progress, 375.
- Nobility of England, 454.
- Noyes, John Humphrey, 150.
- O
- Objections to Socialism, shown to be unfounded, 322-402; as to atheism, 320-325; as to anarchism, 325-328; as to equality, 328-332; as to the abolition of capital, 332-334; as to confiscation, 334-339; as to marriage and the home, 339-355; as to equal value of labor, 355-365; as to impairment of motive to exertion, 365-375; as to destruction of liberty, 375-384; as to political corruption, 384-388; as to impracticability, 388-402.
- Occupations, under Socialism, 349.
- Offices, in the socialistic state, 387.
- Oneida, community, 150.
- Opium habit, 301.
- Organization of capitalists, 430; of laborers, *ibid.*
- Outlook of Socialism, 403-453.
- Over-crowding, 94, 95; and pauperism, 308.
- Over-government, 382.
- Over-production, a cause of Socialism, 29-31; cause of, 29.
- Overworked, relief of, 258-261.
- Owen, Robert, founder of Socialism in England, 188.
- P
- Paine, Thomas, 324.
- Panin, on luxury, 465.
- Paris, 323.
- Parker, Theodore, 149.
- Parochial settlement, law of, 110.
- Participation, 183.
- Patrons of husbandry, 191.
- Pauperism, a cause of Socialism, 33-36; its causes, 34; its extent, 36, 105; in England, 109; its relation to labor, 110.
- Paupers in the United States, 306; causes of, 308.
- Peasants' war, 457.
- People are the State, 381, 385.
- Personality of the State, 169.
- Peter, apostle, 326.
- Pinkerton men, 430.
- Pitt, on competition, 24.
- Plato, on community of property and wives, 347; 374; 447.
- Pliny, 84.
- Plutarch, 320.
- Police, waste from, 298.
- Political economy and man, 70; its false assumptions, 74; and wages, 134, 137; pagan, 155; classical, 157; and Christianity, 158, 208, 210; 285; relation of, to waste, 304; socialistic tendency in, 432, 433, 440; 434; in schools and colleges, 439.

- Politics, corruption of, 261, impossible under Socialism, 384-388; capitalistic, 385.
- Political Socialism, gains of, 412; in Germany, *ibid.*
- Poor growing poorer, 90-119.
- Population and subsistence, 125.
- Postulates of Socialism, labor the source of value, 50; private capital a crime, 66; rich growing richer, and poor poorer, 90; wages furnish a bare subsistence, 119; public ownership of capital, 138.
- Post-offices, 288.
- Poverty, punished in England, 36; increasing with riches, 90-119; in cities, 94; relative, 113; abolished under Socialism, 269-272; defined, 269; an evil, *ibid.*, 270; and crime, 281, 456; and the church, 472.
- Precepts of Christianity and Socialism, 147-164.
- Press and Socialism, 443.
- Prevention of waste, 284-319.
- Prices, 428.
- Prince of Wales, 419.
- Principles, of capitalism, 467; of Socialism, 468; of political economy, 238.
- Printers' Association, 224.
- Prison Association of New York, 274.
- Prisons, waste from, 298; populations of, 299; cost of, *ibid.*
- Privation of laborers, 99-109, 117, 131.
- Private capital, a social crime, 66-89; inimical to fraternity, 74; 90; anti-Christian, 238.
- Private enterprise, 325.
- Private property, distinguished from private capital, 68; and Christianity, 82; in land, 80; relation of, to family life, 346.
- Production and prices, 134, 135; factors in, 202; lack of system in, 295; 369.
- Productivity of labor, 123, 136.
- Professorial Socialists, 157.
- Profits, of millionnaires compared with wages, 96; 135, 155; on skilled labor, 232; derived from labor alone, 252.
- Profit-sharing, 182-188; forms of, 182; insufficiency of, 184-188.
- "Progress and Poverty," on land tenure, 84; 214; 443.
- Progress, industrial, of Socialism, 426-432; material, of the United States too rapid, 464.
- Progress of State control, 145.
- Progress unequal between social classes, 108; under Socialism, 366; teaching of history as to material progress of nations, 373-375.
- Proletariat, 141, 156.
- Propaganda, socialistic, 161.
- Property, the Roman and Christian ideas of, 69; the Roman idea no longer tenable, 70; not a part of the possessor, 78; title to, not absolute but relative, *ibid.*; private, and Christianity, 82; in land common, 83, 85; right of, 88; 432.
- Proudhon, Joseph Pierre, his sublime appeal to God, 153; 333; 335.
- Proverbs of individualism, 274.
- Prussia, land monopoly in, 81.
- Publications, socialistic, 441-443.
- Public functionaries under capitalism, 368.
- Public good, required by social justice, 171; end of the State, 178.
- Public office, a prize, 262.
- Public ownership of capital, 138-164.
- Purification of politics under Socialism, 261-265.

R

- Rae, John, his criticism of Marx's theory of value, 55 ; his theory of "social utility" as a measure of value examined, 62 ; on land tenure, 85 ; fallacy and false assumptions of his argument against the postulate that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, 107-116 ; on wages, 136 ; 201 ; his criticism of Henry George's theory of rent, 205-214 ; 284 ; on capitalistic and bureaucratic management, 287, 288, 354 ; his misconception of Marx on the value of different kinds of labor, 355, 356 ; on motives to exertion, 365, 366, 370 ; on progress, 366 ; on liberty under Socialism, 376.
- Railroads, grants of land to, by Congress, 81 ; and employees in the United States, 241 ; waste from, 285 ; capital and employees of, 427.
- Raymond, S. G., 448.
- Raymond, J. E., 450.
- Recapitulation, 453, 454.
- Reform and Socialism, 419.
- Reformers, social, 151.
- Reformation of the sixteenth century, 326.
- Reichstag, 327.
- Religion, the decay of, a cause of Socialism, 45-49 ; 446.
- Renschenbusch, Walter, 450.
- Rent, 202 ; law of, 203 ; 211 ; 225.
- Republic, stability of, 216.
- Republic, the United States, 392.
- Republicanism, 8.
- Returns of capital and labor, 203.
- Revelation of Socialism, 403-452 ; 453.
- Reyband, originator of the term, Socialism, 3.
- Ricardo, on value as determined by quantity of labor, 60 ; different qualities of labor compared and adjusted in the market, 63 ; 133 ; the law of rent, 202.
- Rich, growing richer, 90, 91 ; not to be blamed, 97.
- Riches increasing with poverty, 90-119 ; 461, in United States, 463.
- Ridgeway, James W., 275.
- Right, new idea of, 233 ; power of, 388, 389.
- Rights, equality of, 88 ; absolute, 178 ; relative, 179 ; political, 196 ; of the State, 337.
- Ripon, Lord, 159.
- Rodbertus, his theory of crises, 31 ; labor the source of all value, 50 ; 90 ; 105 ; on poverty, 113 ; 122 ; 139 ; 155 ; 333 ; on the distribution of goods under Socialism, 362, 363.
- Roesler, 438.
- Rogers, Thorold, on the effects of machinery, 12 ; on class legislation, 36 ; 93 ; on condition of labor, 104, 105 ; on pauperism and degradation of labor, 109 ; on wages, a bare subsistence, 122 ; on the English laborer, 132 ; 136.
- Rome, republican, small estates in, 84 ; 250.
- Roscher, on the separation of industrial classes, 17 ; on the decay of religion, 45 ; 158 ; 437, 438.
- Rothschilds, 332.
- Ruskin, John, 338.

S

- Sabbath and Socialism, 7 ; desecration of, 325.
- Sage, Russell, 96.
- Salaries of employers, 19 ; 317.
- Salem, 238.
- Sampter, 438.
- Salt Lake, 243.
- Schaeffle, his definition of Social-

- ism, 3; on property, 77; on interest in labor, 367; 403; 438.
- Schmoler, 438.
- Schoenberg, 438.
- Schools, industrial, 227-230, 439; graduates of high schools averse to manual labor, 228; socialistic tendency in, 438-440.
- Scriptures. See Bible.
- Seelye, Julius H., 262.
- Self-help, 420, 421.
- Self-interest, corner-stone of capitalism, 146; vicious character of, *ibid.*; 163, 369, 467.
- Selfishness, 348, 394, 401.
- Seneca, on riches, 461.
- Senators, United States, wealth of, 262.
- Serfdom, 452.
- Shakers, 150.
- Shakespeare, 375.
- Shetland, 210.
- Shoe-shops in New England, 18.
- Shoe ribbons, 302.
- Sifri, book of, 447.
- Silcox, John B., 449.
- Sillence, W. E., 449.
- Simpson, Stephen, 430.
- Skill, in labor, 228, 229, 232, 234.
- Skirts, hoop, 302.
- Slavery, 2, 452.
- Smalley, 152.
- Smartness, 363.
- Smith, Adam, on class legislation, 38; on labor as measure of value, 53; on the law of wages, 120; on natural wages, 138; on ignorance under capitalism, 267; on motives to exertion, 366; 433.
- Smith College, 332.
- Socialism, critical and constructive, 2; nature of, *ibid.*; distinguished from individualism, 2, 3; origin of, 3; its five fingers: economic, social, moral, political, religious, 4-6; its points of resemblance to Christianity, 6-8; opposed to violence, 9; prejudice against, *ibid.*; its causes, 11-49; its relation to democracy, 41; is applied Christianity, 49; opposed not to capital or capitalists, but to capitalism, 68, 69; other causes of, 86, 88; constructive, 138-164; a new political economy, 139, 157; quintessence of, 143; agrees with the gospel, 145; contrasted with individualism, *ibid.*; and the precepts of religion, 146-164; of to-day, 151; distinguished from communism, 146, 151, 326; rests on ethical principles, 166, 468, and co-operation, 196; 234; 237; 241; 244; and the liquor traffic, 254-258; 301; relieves the overworked, 258-261; favorable to education, 267, 268; relieves poverty, 270; and crime, 272-284; saving of waste under, 284-319; would systematize production, 295; its relation to fashion, 303; to luxury, 305; to charity and pauperism, 306; to choice of labor, 312, 313; to banking, 314; to insurance, 315; would prevent waste from railroads, 286; from superfluous stores and manufactories, *ibid.*; from advertising, 289; from drummers, 290; from enforced idleness, 291; from crises, 293; from adulterations and imitations, 295; from litigation, 297; from police and prisons, 288; from theft and embezzlement, 299; from intemperance, 300; from fashions, 301; from luxury, 303; from charity, 305; from inefficiency of labor, from ignorance, indifference, and want of adaptation, 309-314; from banking, 314; from insurance, 315;

- from strikes and lockouts, 318; spread of, 320; principles of, *ibid.*; not atheistic, *ibid.*; not anarchistic, 325; as to equality, 328; as to capital, 332; as to confiscation, 334; as to marriage and the home, 339; as to equal value of labor, 355; as to motives to exertion, 365; as to liberty, 375; as to class rule by laborers, 382-384; as to corruption of politics, 384; as to practicability, 388; distinguished from anarchism, 326; favorable to the family, 343; its care of the helpless, *ibid.*; misrepresented, 362; relation of, to the gospel, 363; stimulates self-help, 372; demands work of all, 384; not impracticable, 388-402; peaceful, 391; gradual introduction of, 454-456; private life under, 397; ideality of, 399; its realization, 403; numerical strength of, 404; in Germany, England, 404, in France, Russia, 407, 408, in the U.S., 410, 422; political progress of, in Germany, 412, in France, 415, 421, in England, 415, 419; its revelation and outlook, 403-452; a trust, 426; its publications, 441-443; 453; Christian, 473.
- "Socialist," circulation of, 441.
- Socialists, not bound to furnish details, 165; of Germany, 154; their relation to State ownership, *ibid.*
- Socialists of the Chair, 438.
- Socialistic state, nature of, 165-181; care of its citizens, 270; no historical precedent of, 392.
- Social democrats, 336.
- Social Democratic Federation, 336.
- Socialistic Labor Party, 139, 411, 431.
- Social Democratic Workingmen's Party, 265.
- Societies, co-operative, 159.
- Society, evolution of, 86; crime of, 259; responsible for crime, 274; changed condition of, 446.
- Sociology, 438.
- Soden, Count, 438.
- Solidarity, tendency toward, 392, 393; 446.
- Solon, 448.
- Sparta, 259, 373.
- Spartans, 84.
- Speculation, 240.
- Speculators, 96.
- Spencer, Herbert, on land monopoly, 79; 142; on individual liberty, 172; 180; on the State as an organism, 202; 273; 420.
- Spice of life not dependent on crime, 282.
- Spindles, speed of, 215.
- Spinning, 250.
- Spills system, 265, 386.
- Sprague, Philo W., 449.
- Springfield Daily Union, 240.
- Springfield Republican, 227, 235.
- Spring Valley Coal Company, 177.
- Stahl, on Socialism and democracy, 41.
- Stamp Act, 220.
- Standard of living, relation of, to wages, 224, 225.
- Standard Oil Trust, 242, 435.
- State, right of, 88; should own land and other capital, 139; functions of, 140; industrially organized, *ibid.*; obligations of, 163; socialistic nature of, 165-181; nature of, examined, 167-181; defined, 167, 168; object of, 169; socialistic, 249; authority of, 251; able to support its citizens, 271-327; 333; relation of, to private property, 337; its

sovereignty, 338 ; as separate from the people, 385; 432.
 State help, under Socialism, 370, 371.
 State, supervision of industry by, 418, 423, 424; gradual, 425; and crime, 447 ; and Socialism ; 455.
 Statistics of wages, 123.
 Stealing, 280.
 Steam, effect on industry, 14, 446.
 Stern, H. J., 450.
 Stewart, Senator, 217.
 Stewart, Charles, 273.
 Stilpon, 465.
 Stock Exchange, 240.
 Stöcker, 162.
 Stores, under Socialism, 248 ; superfluous, a source of waste, 286.
 Strabo, on the distribution of land, 84.
 Straw plaiters, 302.
 Strikes, 199 ; and skilled labor, 232 ; waste from, 318 ; loss from, *ibid.* ; number and increase of, *ibid.* ; social effects of, 319.
 Strong, Josiah, on the concentration of wealth, 14 ; on the relation of man to his possessions, 70 ; on monopoly of land, 82; 92; 97; 113.
 St. Simon, 147.
 Students, college, 368, 369.
 Sufferings of the poor, 85, 98 ; of laborers, 99-109, 117, 131 ; of the aged, 259 ; permanent under capitalism, 132 ; of capitalists, 457, 458.
 Suicides of capitalists, 457.
 Sumner, Charles, 88, 152.
 Sumner, William G., his vicious definition of civil liberty, 173, 174, 175, 176; 447.
 Support of the laborer under slavery, 142.
 Surplus value, 156.

Swift, Morrison J., 450.
 Sykes, Colonel, on housing of laborers, 102.
 Sympathy with laborers, 437.

T

Talents, parable of, 364.
 Talleyrand, on classes, 141.
 Taylor, Graham, 450.
 Taylor, William M., 466.
 Taxation, justice in, an advantage of Socialism, 252-254; principle of, 252; injustice of present system, 253; of land, 338; extent of, determined by the public good, 338.
 Telegraphs, 288, 455.
 Tenement houses, 94.
 Telephones, 455.
 Temperance, 230.
 Temptation, 277.
 Tenure in land, 84.
 The co-operative Commonwealth, 348.
 Theft, waste from, 299.
 Theological seminaries and sociology, 439, 450.
 Thompson, Robert Ellis, 217.
 Thrift of laborers, 230-235; will not solve the labor problem, 231-235; relation to inheritance, 344.
 Tompkins, Floyd, 449.
 Toynbee Hall Settlement, 440.
 Trades Union Congress, 224.
 Trusts, nature of, 242; 426; 427, 455.

U

Under-consumption, 30.
 United States, land monopoly in, 81, 87; employees of, 423; should proceed slowly in the accumulation of wealth, 463-466.
 Unit of society, not the family, but the individual, 352.
 Unchastity, 340.
 Usury, 252.

Utility, 304.

Utopia, 150; not applicable to Socialism, 390.

V

Value defined, 52; determined by quantity of labor, 60; of concrete labor time not equal, 355.

Vanderbilt, 96, 97, 240.

Vassalage, 452.

Vebben, T. B., on the practicability of Socialism, 388.

Violence not socialistic, 391, 455.

Virtues, personal, and the labor question, 230-234.

Von Scheel, 438.

Von Thünen, 438.

Vrooman, H. C., 450.

W

Wages, 94; relatively decreased, 105, 106; less than cost of living, 107, 115; furnish a bare subsistence, 119-138; natural rate of, 136; the iron law of, 120, 157; wages fund theory, 136; 202, 203, 212; do not depend on standard of living, 225; natural, 219, 220, 226; high, and discontent, 231; the Christian law of, 363, 364.

Wages, system, 119, 132, 133, 137, 157.

Wagner, on State control of industry, 425; 438.

Wakeman, Thaildeus W., 448.

Walker, Amos G., on co-operation in the West, 191, 188,

Walker, Francis A., on the hardships and sufferings of laborers, 99; on the evil tendency of economic forces and the degradation of labor, 118; on insufficient wages, 119; on competition, 129, 130, 394; on wages, 136; on co-operation, 194; 213; on intelligence and frugality of laborers, 230, 231; 270; on waste, 284; on

fashion, 302; on free labor, 312; on strikes, 318, 393.

Walker, J. H., 459.

Wallingford community, 150.

Wants, danger of increasing, 224.

War of the Rebellion, 261.

Waste, prevention of, 284-319; relation of, to competition, 284; defined, 285; causes of, *ibid.*; from needless railroads, 285; from needless stores and manufactories, 286; from advertising, 289; from drummers, 290, 291; from enforced idleness, 291; from crises, 293; from adulterations, 295; from litigation, 297; from police and prisons, 298; from theft and embezzlement, 299; from intemperance, 300; from fashions, 301; from luxury, 303; from charities, 305; from inefficiency of labor, from ignorance, 309, from indifference, *ibid.*, from want of adaptation, 311; from banking, 314; from insurance, 315; from strikes and lockouts, 318.

Washington, George, 375.

Watch-making, 234, 235.

Water, impure, drank by laborers, 103; 210.

Wealth, relation of Socialism to, 7; concentration of, 91, 96; tyranny of, 249; evils of, 456; and commonwealth, *ibid.*; of the United States, 463.

Webb, Sidney, on Socialism in England, 416, 421, 427, 432, 434, 439; on socialistic publications in England, 442; 452.

Webster, R. M., 449.

Weitling, on private property, 66; 154.

Wendte, 450.

Whitney, Eli, 389.

Wilberforce, Canon, on the apostasy of the church, 47.

Williams, Leighton, 450.